4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Miao AES

PAPERS
OF THE
PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY
AND ETHNOLOGY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
VOL. XXXII – NO. 1

000 THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO OF KWEICHOW

BY

MARGARET PORTIA MICKEY

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1947

4 Mackey E-5 (1940- ?)1947 AE5 Mine AE5

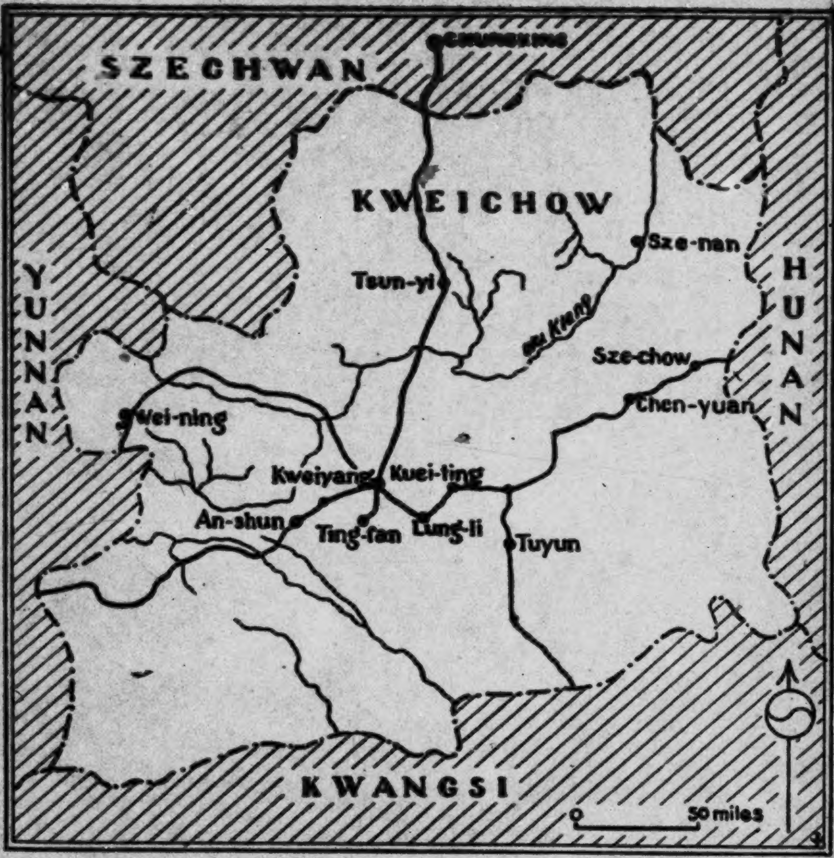

CHUNGKING
SZECHWAN
KWEICHOW
Sze-nan
Tsun-yi
YUNNAN
HUNAN
Wu Kiang
Sze-chow
Chen-yuan
Wei-ning
Kweiyang
Kuei-ting
An-shun
Ting-fan
Lung-li
Tuyun
KWANGSI
0
50 miles

Fig. 1. Map of Kweichow.

[pp. i-iii blank]

4-Mickey 3-5 (1960-?)1947 ABS [illegible] ABS

000

COPYRIGHT, 1947
BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

PRINTED BY THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRINTING OFFICE
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of 563 China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, 563 however, sharply divides the dominant from 361 the minor peoples — the *hsien*[1] towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and 563 Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no 463 urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily 563

---

[1] A *hsien* is a district — a subdivision of a province, roughly comparable to our county

563 go through one of their villages while the women were away in the fields without knowing that he had seen non-Chinese people, for their faces look no different, and the costumes of the men are the same, while the houses, though perhaps poorer, do not deviate from ordinary rural Chinese architectural standards except for the layout of the village. Unless he were a very persistent and hardy traveler, however, the chances that he would reach such a village are remote, for these people inhabit refuge areas, and their homes are tucked away in the higher valleys and on the less fertile mountain slopes. Along the larger rivers, the main highroads of China, the traveler would see only Chinese.

The one province of China which is least fertile, least productive, and least influenced by the far-reaching arm of Western culture is Kweichow. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kweichow contains a larger proportion of non-Chinese "aborigines" than the other provinces of southern China. With more aborigines and fewer Chinese, and with less immediate Chinese influence than elsewhere, Kweichow is the ideal place in which to study the non-Chinese—in this case the Miao. That is why, in 1940, Miss Portia Mickey went there.

114
121 Before she undertook to study the daily life of a Miao village, Miss Mickey had had some ten years of experience in China, during which time she acquired a knowledge of Chinese. Aside from her linguistic qualification, she is a natural field ethnographer. Quiet and unobtrusive, she masks with her mild personality keen powers of observation, discrimination, and persistence. To go alone into the most backward part of the most backward province of China in war time, to live there under local conditions of nutrition and sanitation, and at the same time to keep detailed records of everything that went on, was a feat of no little courage and endurance for a small woman no longer young, on her first anthropological expedition.

roughly comparable to our county.

000 Thanks to her, we are able to publish the first detailed, factual account of a Miao community. There are hundreds of such villages of Miao, each with a different name, usually describing some peculiarity of dress. The Miao have no overt intervillage organization. Each village is a separate unit, subject to the local Chinese governmental authority, just as are Chinese villages. If the Miao were ever a nation, that time is so far behind them that no trace of a larger organization remains. In order to study the Miao one must do it village by village. This account of the Cowrie Shell Miao is therefore but a beginning.

It is enough, however, to clear up much of the mystery about the relationship between aboriginal culture and that of the South Chinese. In her particular village Miss Mickey has shown that the two are much the same in many respects, and this is probably true in general. Whether the Miao have be-

000 come sinified, the Chinese influenced by the aborigines, the two derived from similar cultural beginnings, etc., are historical problems which this paper does not attempt to solve. Miss Mickey has given us a living picture of the personnel of a Miao village, their daily tasks and yearly cycle of activities, their relations with each other and with the world outside. This picture should be useful not only to students of anthropology already familiar with the Chinese village studies of Fei and Yang, but also to people of other professions who wish to understand China; not the China of the Shanghai Bund, wartime Chunking, and the mission stations, but the China of the provinces, of the unpaved paths and of the villages, of the so-called aborigines as well as of the so-called Chinese. Her work will help them understand China as a whole.

Cambridge, Mass. CARLETON S. COON
December, 1946

INTRODUCTION 3
The province of Kweichow 3
The peoples of Kweichow 5
Historical 5
Division of peoples and their location . . 6
Cowrie shells 7
The Cowrie Shell Miao 8
Tradition of origin 8
Present distribution 8
Family names 9
Physical appearance and nature 9
Language 9
Ting-shui-pa 10
Periods of residence 10
General description 11

THE VILLAGE OF YANG-CHIA-SAI . . 12

Location and layout 12
Population 12
Types of family and interrelationship . . 17

ECONOMIC LIFE 21

Houses: construction and divisions indicating use 21
Sanitary arrangements 22
Furniture 22
Food 23
Clothing 24
Agriculture 29
Implements and technique 35
Animals and birds 37
Division of labor 37
Markets and sources of income 40
Inheritance 42

INSTITUTIONS 43

The family 43

000

[ixa]

000

Political institutions 43
Legal difficulties 44
Economic institutions 45
Associations 45
Religious institutions 45
Ritual structures 46
Deities 46

THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS 47
Childbirth 47
Announcement gifts 47
Naming of children 47
Attitude toward children: their education . 48
Youth 49
Betrothal 50
Wedding 50
Tso chia 51
Death and burial 52
Illness and the most prevalent diseases . . 58
Priests 59
The priestess, or shamaness 60
Details of ceremony 63
Divination 71

RITES OF INTENSIFICATION 72
Calendar of festivals 72
The lunar New Year 72
San Yüeh San 74
Ch'ing Ming 75
Hsiao Mang 75
Tuan Yang 75
Lung Hui 76
Bullfights 76
Bullfighting among the Cowrie Shell Miao (Dr. Wu Tsu-lin) 78

REFERENCES 83

OCO THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO
OF KWEICHOW

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Mlso AES

000

LIST OF LINE-CUT FIGURES

1. Map of Kweichow . . . . frontispiece
2. Average monthly precipitations over a four-year period at Kweiyang 4
3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang . . 11
4. Sketch map of the valley of Ting-shui-pa . 13
5. Sketch map of the village of Yang-chia-sai . 14
6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai 16
7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol 22
8. Cross-stitch designs used in sections of the overpiece on the blouse 26
9. Embroidered design on narrow strip of white cloth 26
10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views 36
11. Bamboo shuttle 39
12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses 69

LIST OF HALF-TONE FIGURES

13. Houses.
14. Valley and roads.
15. Agriculture.
16. Sowing and harvesting.
17. Bullfights.
18. Arts and industries.
19. Clothing.
20. Ceremonial dress.

INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF KWEICHOW[1]

133 KWEICHOW is a part of the Southwestern Tableland which, as a spur of the great Tibetan plateau, slopes to the south and east away from Tibet (fig. 1, frontispiece). It is bounded on the north by Szechuan, on the east by Hunan, on the south by Kwangsi, and on the west by Yünnan. The structural trend in Kweichow is east and west, with drainage to the south into the West River and to the north and east into the Yangtze River. The province slopes from a height of over 6000 feet in the west to less than 2000 feet in the east. Some valleys lie as high as 4000 feet, and mountain summits reach 9000. S. R. Clarke estimated that most of Kweichow is at least 3000 feet above sea level, the altitude constantly decreasing as one goes east. Wei-ning Lake, in the western part of the province is, he says, 7000 feet above sea level. The altitude of Kweiyang, the capital, is given by G. B. Cressey as 3468.56 feet. There are certainly high mountains in the western part of the province. The traveler going by motor road from Kunming to Kweiyang repeatedly has the feeling of being "on top of the world."

Three mountain ranges cross the province in a general east to west direction, the highest being the Wuling Mountains which form a watershed between the Wu and Yuan rivers. There is an old Chinese saying to the effect that seven-tenths of the province is mountains. It has been characterized as a labyrinth of hills and valleys, an ocean of little hills as seen from many a high hill. These little hills are of every conceivable shape, pyramid and sugar loaf types being very common. Some of the larger valleys are dotted with them; they range the length of others. In parts of the province these hills are bare and barren; in other parts they furnish timber for one of the main industries of the

[3a] [p. 2 blank]

133 province. The valleys are usually narrow and the "plains" seldom large. There are high plains scattered through the mountains, separated from one another by gaps in the hills, or by passes over them. Some of the slopes are terraced, thus increasing the area of cultivable land. The only level valley of any size is that of the Nanning River, in which the capital, Kweiyang, is situated.

There are several rivers in the province, but they become navigable only as they are about to leave the province. The Wu River, which flows through the center of the province, a tributary of the Yangtze, is navigable from Sze-nan; at this point rafts of logs are launched. The Chang-ki, a branch of the Yuan, which flows into Tung-t'ing Lake, Hunan, is navigable at Sze-chow. It joins the main stream at Chen-yuan in the eastern part of the province. San-kioh is at the head of navigation on the Liu. Thus only in the extreme east and southeast of the province is there any river traffic. The fall of rivers is usually steep and there are many stretches of rapids. Springs and streams water the mountain valleys and cascade to lower levels by many a lovely waterfall. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the earth and come out again a considerable distance away.

491 When S. R. Clarke wrote of the province there were no roads over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven. Everything had to be carried by coolies or on the backs of ponies and mules. Four narrow old roads leading to the several provinces by which Kweichow is bounded all met at the capital, Kweiyang. The typical highways were narrow trails, paved with cobble stones or slabs of rock (fig. 14, *a*, *b*, *d*). Gradually roads were built following these main routes. The position of the province as a link be-

"China Provincial Atlas and Geography," 1935; Clarke, 1911.

491 tween strategic points in "free China" led to the construction of motor roads through Kweiyang from Kunming in Yünnan to Chungking in Szechuan and from Kweiyang east to cities in Hunan and Kwangsi, following the old imperial highway from Peking. Others lead from Kweiyang south to Ting-fan and from the Kweiyang-Chungking road into the 496 northwestern part of the province. A railway in process of construction from Kiangsi to Kweiyang had been brought as far as Tu-yün, but the Japanese in their "farthest west" tore

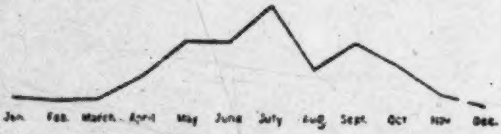
[132] 

FIG. 2. Average monthly precipitations over a four-year period at Kweiyang.

491 up the tracks. Still most of the travel over the province must be by stone roads or mountain paths, suitable only for pack animals and coolies. In the northwest these paths are so steep that the traveler ascends by following his pony and holding onto its tail. Throughout much of Kweichow the motor road is an exhilarating roller coaster, made the more exciting by the habit drivers have of coasting down the hills to save fuel. Brakes must be good.

132 Kweichow has a monsoon climate, in which the wind blows from the south and southeast in the summer and from the north and northeast in the winter. The parts of the province bordering on Hunan and Kwangsi are considered humid and unhealthy because of the prevalence of malarial fever. The temperatures are related to altitude rather than latitude, ranging from 86 to 14 degrees Fahrenheit. In general the climate is of the Yünnan plateau type, "ameliorated tropical," almost temperate. The annual rainfall is estimated at something over 39.5 inches. Observations (fig. 2) at Kweiyang[2] on rainfall over a four-year period give the following monthly precipitations in mm.: January, 29.5; February, [40a] 22.5; March, 27.5; April, 85.1; May, 165.7;

---

[2] Lat. 26° 18' N., long. 106° 40'.

June, 164.5; July, 247.9; August, 97.6; September, 164.5; October, 113.4; November, 45.1; December, 15.4, a total of 1169 mm., or 46.02 inches. The number of rainy days during the year averaged 168.5. There may be rapid changes of temperature. From October to February a peculiar fog fills the valleys; in some years there may be only twenty-five sunny days during that period. In Kweiyang I have known the sun to show itself through the thinner clouds only twice during January.

Although I had with me no means of keeping a record of variations in temperature and rainfall, references in my notes to the weather throughout the year would indicate that conditions in Ting-shui-pa paralleled quite closely those recorded in Kweiyang over a four-year period. This is to be expected since Ting-shui-pa is approximately thirty miles from Kweiyang as the crow flies, and at almost the same altitude. In Kweiyang the rainiest month of the year was July, with moderate to heavy rainfall April through June, and August through October and the remainder of the year comparatively dry. My notes indicate that July was indeed a very rainy month with "drenching rain" and "a solid week of rain, followed by sun and showers mixed, then more downpours." In March, April, and May there were periods of warm, sunny days broken by thunder showers or a few days of rain, but toward the end of May and during the first part of June there were hard rains, not always during the day, followed by a period when it was cloudy but there was no rain. August and September seem to have been generally fine and hot, but toward the end of September bad weather began, with mist and wind from the northeast. October and November were very wet, rainy or gray, misty days outnumbering the even partly sunny ones, but in November and December there were also some fine, sunny days. January and February continued to be cold and there was often a heavy mist. There was freezing weather early in December. In February there was ice and frost all over the mountains for two days and ice thick enough on the rice fields so that the children cut pieces of it out and carried them about.

[4b]

Kweichow is considered the poorest agricultural 311
province in all China. Much of the
soil is poor, and the steep, narrow valleys give [134]
but little space for farms, which are therefore
usually small and cultivated by simple methods.
Cultivation is confined chiefly to upland
plains, the few open valleys and terraced
hillsides, and is dependent upon conditions of
soil, slope, and water. The total area of
cultivated and cultivable land is estimated at
five per cent. At one time the chief crop was
opium, but the Chinese Government has tried
to stamp out the growing of the poppy. One
geographer lists in order of second importance
maize and buckwheat, then tobacco, bamboo,
wheat, oats, sugar, rice, fruits, indigo, silk, cotton,
hemp, beans, and wild silk. Another
gives in order of acreage rice, maize, beans,
wheat, barley, and millet. In general, it may
be said that rice is grown wherever possible
and there forms the staple food. In the
poorer mountain districts, where rice cannot
be grown, the people depend upon maize,
barley, and millet. Nowhere is more than one
crop of rice grown and the harvest is in September
or October. Winter crops commonly
include wheat, pulse and oil seeds such as rape.
There is a variety of excellent vegetables
grown through the year. Fruits of the province 245
include peaches, pears, apricots, persimmons,
oranges, and lemons. There are also
large crops of walnuts and chestnuts, including
a wild variety. The chief trees are the fir, 137
pine, and oak in the east, the t'ung in the
west. In spite of rapid cutting, large reserves
are thought to remain in Kweichow. The
bambo trees are of several species, some suitable
for construction and the making of articles
of common household use and huge rain
hats, others having edible sprouts. Tsunyi in 288
the northern part of the province has industries
for the making of a kind of cheap silk
cloth and waterproof silk cloth, native umbrellas,
and cotton goods. The villages of

The villages of Sze-nan and San-kioh both are important lumber centers. 313

136 Tigers are reported in the northeastern part of the province. There are also said to be wolves, wild boars, white pheasants, and giant salamanders. I have seen wild cats in the hills and rabbits for sale in the market at Kweiyang. 231 There are many domestic animals, including "yellow cows," water buffalo, pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and chickens. The first two are used as draft animals, for plowing. There are no full-sized horses, but ponies and small mules are used as pack animals.

135 In mineral wealth Kweichow is considered to have greater possibilities than any other province of China. Coal is common and may be had for merely scratching the surface. The richest mercury mines in the world are in Kweichow. It is the only mineral exported, although from the iron in Wei-ning cooking vessels are manufactured which are sold all over Yünnan, as well as Kweichow. In addition, there are gold, silver, copper, and nitrate of potash in sufficient quantities to warrant mining them.

137 The province should also be of great interest to botanists. I met in Kweiyang an Austrian who had collected over three hundred species of plants. As I went to market from the mountain village in which I was living to Lung-li I would count the flowering plants I saw. There were never fewer than thirty in blossom, many times more than fifty. At times the hills would be rosy with azaleas, at other times blue with bluebells of several kinds, while during their season more than a hundred white lilies would be in view at certain points. Hedges of wild roses border some of the paths. There are wild fruit trees, berries, and flowering vines. Nearly every flowering plant we grow with much care in our gardens is found wild on the Kweichow mountains.

173 **Historical.** Chinese literature has references to the province of Kweichow and its peoples from the days of Shen-nung, when Emperor Yen married the daughter of Ch'ih-shui, from the southern part of the present

[5c]

123 province. It is a fascinating story. Native states were conquered and reconquered; clans whose names are still to be found among those known as "Old Chinese" were transported to the province; companies were led in by their

[5d]

173 feudal lords; land was given to garrisons and soldier villages which they were to keep "from generation to generation."

The entire tale is too long to tell here, but one small portion may be of interest.[2a] During the first period of the reign of Han Wu-ti (140–135 B.C.) an envoy was sent to Nan-yüeh, in the region occupied by present-day Kwangsi and Kwangtung. During his visit he was offered a relish of betel pepper from Shu, an ancient state with its capital at Ch'engtu. When he inquired whence this relish came, he was told that it was brought from Tsang-ko in the northwest by a river which has its source in the mountains northwest of Ting-fan-hsien in Kweichow. Upon his return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an) he inquired further concerning this relish and was told that it was a product peculiar to Shu, from which it had been taken in private trade to Yeh-lang, a state in what is now the western part of Kweichow and Kwangsi. It occurred to the envoy that by this trade route a way might be afforded for an army recruited in Yeh-lang to proceed against wealthy Nan-yüeh. Accordingly, he memorialized the throne and the project of constructing a road to this river was started; but the road was never finished because the soldiers engaged upon it suffered too much from weariness, hunger, and the "dampness of the weather," and the expense of keeping native peoples from revolt was too great.

The tradition and folklore of those peoples who have no written language, as well as Chinese historical writings, support the contention of all Kweichow people that their ancestors were immigrants from other provinces. Some came from the region between the lakes of Tung-t'ing in Hunan and Po-ying in Kiangsi, some across the borders from Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Szechuan. Among them were forced or voluntary immigrants who came as families or clans, garrison soldiers without families who married women from non-Chinese groups, and in more recent years farmers, business and professional men, and officials. [6a]

563 **Division of Peoples and Their Location.** S. R. Clarke[3] divides the people of the province

---

[2a] Cheng Teh-k'un, 1945.

[3] Clarke, 1911.

into six groups: First, two groups of Chinese—the Lao Han-jen ("Old Chinese"), who came as garrison soldiers from the ninth to the twelfth century and whose descendants through marriage with non-Chinese women are often taken at first to be tribes people, and the K'e-chia ("Guest people"). Some of the first speak an old Chinese dialect and their women wear most picturesque costumes. The headdress of the women in one group in Anshun Hsien gives them the name of Feng-t'ou jen (Phoenix-headed people). The K'e-chia first came from Kiangsi, not always willingly; later many came from Hunan and Szechuan. Second, the non-Chinese Kei-lao, Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia. Other western writers generally classify them by languages.

Chinese gazetteers give altogether just one hundred names for these peoples and suggest various methods by which they may be classified. In the notes to his translation of the Miao-Man section of the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh[4] Dr. Lin Yüeh-hwa places them in seven groups: the Miao proper, the Chung-chia, the Nung-chia, the Ch'i-lao, the Lo-lo, the Yao, and the P'o. The Research Bureau of the Sociology Department of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, of which Dr. Wu Tzu-lin was head, classified them as Lo-lo (more politely known as I-pien), Kei-lao, a Tai group, and Miao.

The I-pien are found in the extreme northwestern part of the province and are divided into T'u-mu or T'u-ssu, descendants of feudal lords, Hei-I, freemen and landowners, and Pai-I, serfs or slaves. Many of the Hei-I have in recent years taken the title and authority of T'u-ssu, while the latter have been rapidly disappearing. The Kei-lao, whose name is also pronounced Ch'i-lao, are found in fairly large numbers in P'u-ting, An-lung, and Lu-shan hsien. There are two explanations of the name Lo-lo. Some say it comes from the spirit basket (*lo lo*) hung up in the most sacred corner of the house. If this is so, their resentment against the name is understandable as an insult to their religion. The Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh[5] says that at the close of the Sui and the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty the capable leaders among the Man people [6b] were advanced to the status of Kuei-chu. The Lo-tien people east of Kweiyang then called the Kuei-chu of the Lo family by the abbreviated title of Lo-kuei, which was finally corrupted to Lo-lo. This same source gives the origin of the Ch'i-lao or Kei-lao as Szechuan, from whence they were spread over the provinces of Kweichow and Kwangtung. In this source and by themselves the Kei-lao are divided into ten groups with such interesting names as Ch'ing (Blue), Hung (Red), Yeh-t'ou (Head-adorning), P'i-p'ao (long robe), Ch'ien-t'ou (Head-shaving), Ta-ya (Teeth-knocking), Kuo-ch'uan (Potring), and Ta-t'ieh (Iron-working).

The Tai group includes the Chung-chia, Tung-chia, Shui-chia, and T'ung-chia. Of these, the Chung-chia in the central and southern sections of the province and the Tung-chia in the southeastern are most numerous and widely distributed, while the Shui-chia in the four southern hsien of Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, and Tu-chiang and the T'ung-chia in Lo-ch'ang and San-chiang Hsien are few. The origin of the name, Chung-chia, is given in the An-shun Fu-chih as follows: originally the words were written 重甲, meaning "heavy armor," and refer to the heavy infantry of invading armies. There are references to immigrating clans by the name of Tung and T'ung and of garrison soldiers who took the name of their commander, Chung. These people all speak Tai dialects and probably came from Szechuan, the ancestral home of the Tai, or from Kwangsi. The Shui-chia are fairly recent arrivals from Kwangsi.

For the Miao people there are as many as eighty or ninety different names. At Ta Hsia University, following the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh,[8] they are classified as Hua (Flowery), Hei (Black), Ch'ing (Blue), Pai (White), and Hung (Red) Miao, according to the predominant color of the tribal dress. Of these the Hua Miao in the west and northwest and the Hei Miao in the southeast are most numerous and widespread, while the Ch'ing Miao and Pai Miao in the central and the Hung Miao in the northeastern parts of the province are much less numerous and

563 more restricted in distribution. All other names apply to sub-groups.

101 These often seem to be rather in the nature of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians.

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

301 436 **Cowrie Shells.** Cowrie shells have played and still do play various roles in China. From very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger[7] quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in Dynasty they used cowries in trade." Marco

301 436 Polo refers to them in this capacity in his description of the journey he took into the southwest of China on behalf of the Great Khan. The I-shu (義疏) says, "Yünnan people call the pei 'hai p'a,' p'a being the shell of the animal."[8] There are in the Museum at West China Union University at Ch'engtu metal objects made to represent cowries and once used as money. Hai-p'a (Cowrie Shell) Miao girls also wear ornaments of silver in the form of cowrie shells.

787 Another character, "cheng" (貞), has been interpreted as the fee paid to one who examines the markings on a shell. It might also be thought of as divination by means of cowrie shells. Among the Mo-so of Yünnan cowries are still used for that purpose. A full account of this is given in an article by Dr. T'ao Yün-kuei in the *Anthropological Journal*.[9] There are in the Ch'engtu Museum a number of the Mo-so divination classics from the collection made by Dr. Joseph Rock.

301 Still another character, "fen" (賁), suggests for us by its composition of shells and plants a third use to which these shells are put among many peoples of Southwest China, ornamentation. I have seen an apron used by the Ch'uan Miao of southern Szechuan, the

301 piece worn over the blouse of a Cowrie Shell Miao woman, and the hat of a priest of the Ch'iang, all of which use cowrie shells in this way. Of the Ch'i-t'ou Ch'i-lao women it is written, "On their backs they wear sea-shells strung like pearls," while among the P'i-p'ao Ch'i-lao, "The woman bind their hair with blue thread. They wear blue cloth sashes on which they sew sea-shells." [10]

On the priest's hat these shells have further significance. They give him protection and added power. I have also seen these shells on the cap of a small child among the Ch'ing Miao of An-shun Hsien and on a cord around the wrist of a Chinese child, where they were considered a charm against evil. In each of the eye-sockets of the skull of a golden-haired monkey in the center of a Ch'iang priest's sacred bundle, also to be seen in the Ch'engtu Museum, is a cowrie shell.

Cowrie shells, usually alternating with circles, are used as decoration on the red, or painted Neolithic ware found in the Ma-ch'ang, Kansu site. In the Cowrie Shell Miao village in which I lived one of the women gave one of these shells to a Chinese girl who visited me there and who was about to be married.

173 **Tradition of Origin.** According to Miss LI,[11] with whom I made my first visit to a Cowrie Shell Miao village, two places were mentioned as the original home of the Cowrie Shell Miao, Kiangsi and the Pearl River, where, one man said, they were known as Hai (Sea) Miao. The head of the family in which I lived insisted that their ancestor was a Chinese (Han-jen) by the name of Lei who migrated voluntarily from Chu-shih-hang in Kiangsi with his wife and settled in Ting-fan Hsien. As the descendants of their sons increased in number they adopted other Chinese surnames and his own family, my informant suggested, might be called Yang Lei Chia (the Yang branch of the Lei family).

131 **Present Distribution.** They are now to be found chiefly in the three *hsien* of Lung-li,

---

*T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939. *T'ao Yün-kuei, 1939.

[8c]

131 [491] Kuei-ting, and Ting-fan, a region of many mountain valleys at an average elevation of three to four thousand feet. A motor highway crosses the first two of these *hsien* from Kweiyang east; a second runs from Kweiyang south to the *hsien* city of Ting-fan. There are some Cowrie Shell Miao in the cities, but most of them live in mountain villages, reached by stone roads or mountain paths suitable for travel on foot, on horseback, or by sedan chair only, and are engaged in agriculture. The center of their distribution is approximately where the three *hsien* come together. There has been no accurate census of this ethnic group. Small settlements of Chinese and villages of Chung-chia and Cowrie Shell Miao are often found in the same valley. In Kuei-ting Hsien I visited

---

[10] Lin Yüeh-hwa, 1941.

[11] See p. 10.

[8d]

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao 131
only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves 619
descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from vil- 582
lages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite 621
unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li[12] listed the follow- 551
ing surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (揚 and 楊). From the records in the office of the *lien pao*[13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Al- 142
though both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

---

[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

I found them friendly and hospitable, but 574
without a sense of relative values. The family 123
with whom I lived would accept no money
for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all 421
the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chi- 576
nese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often 152
gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei[14] told me that 197
he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time
their ancestor migrated. There are either 194
seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to 193

---

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

[96]

194 this point — including "singing tones" simi-
193 lar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sen-
tence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

871 When a family can afford it one or more
177 boys — rarely a girl — receive some educa-
tion. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

871 177 go beyond the local primary school. In the family in which I lived, for several generations one or more boys have graduated from middle school. There is one now in the *hsien* city of Lung-li, but formerly they had to go to Kweiyang. This family has furnished the teacher of the local school for two generations. Most of the men and many of the women speak Chinese, especially those who go to market a great deal. One of the priests in the village told Miss Li that he had a book of the ritual for "opening the way" written in Chinese, but he never showed it to us. A well-educated Miao often insists that he is Chinese (Han) and those in Kweiyang are sinicized.

[10b]

122 **Periods of Residence.** In the fall of 1940, Dr. Wu Tzu-lin, then head of the Sociology Department and the Sociological Research Bureau of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, arranged for one of his research assistants, Miss Li Chih-jen, and me to spend a few months among the Cowrie Shell Miao in Lung-li Hsien. On the second of December we went by sedan chair from the *hsien* city of Lung-li to the valley of Ting-shui-pa, six miles to the southeast, a little less than half by motor road and the rest by stone mountain road. From a pass where there was a wooden gateway and a wayside shrine we could look down into the valley, a lovely one, almost like a park. All along the way I had marveled at the many flowers and red berries. Here there were bamboo thickets and a grove of oak with a few palms and conifers. The stone road ran between hedgerows of blossoming shrubs and fruit trees, through which flashed gay, singing birds. Beyond the hedges on the left we could see a large pond, with a little, white shrine and the village of Yang-chia-sai beyond it. My bearers would have taken me through the wood to the village, but Miss Li had gone on ahead to the office of the *lien pao* official, and I had perforce to follow her.

Dr. Wu had received permission from the head of the wealthiest family in the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang-chia-sai for us to live in his house. But the *hsien* magistrate sent with us a letter to the *lien pao* official, who had his office in a Chinese family temple four-

[10c]

122 tenths of a mile from the village. When the teacher of the school, also housed in the temple, a nephew of this village man, saw the letter he protested that his home was not suitable. As a result, we lived in the *lien pao* office until just before the Chinese lunar New Year, which was on January 27, but spent much time in the Miao village. We then returned to Kweiyang. I returned alone after a few days. This time I lived for two months in the "new house" (fig. 13, *e*) of this well-to-do family.

At Dr. Wu's suggestion, I came to the village again on February 1, 1942, and lived in the same rooms as before until December 3 of that year, when I moved into the city of Lung-li in order to be more free to work up the material I had gathered in this more than a year of observation. I had seen the calendar of activities; although there were many gaps in information, particularly as to vocabulary, songs, tunes, and ritual, there was enough for an initial study; I needed the change in order to get away from demands for gifts of such things as personal clothing and bedding and help in lawsuits involving even remote relations of the family, as well as of neighboring Chung-chia and Chinese that I do as much for them as I had for the people of the village. Finally, I felt that I had presumed upon their hospitality long enough. They were appreciative of the help I had been able to give them, however, and repeatedly invited me to return.

General Description. Ting-shui-pa (see 131
fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles 133
long and half as wide, with mountains and hills 103
surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told her they called the mountains to the north Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman, and those to the east the Mountain of the Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley was from the wayside shrine at the top of a pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent from the motor road. About a mile from the 131
pass the road led between high hedges which 133
screened the village vegetable gardens and the large pond from the road. Beyond the pond lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang- 361
chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone road went on. At the further edge of a wood it divided, one fork going straight on into the other part of the valley separated from this one by low hills and beyond to the south. The other ran between the other side of the wood on its left and a group of grave mounds on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo thickets separated the road from a meadow where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little way beyond the village another turn, to the

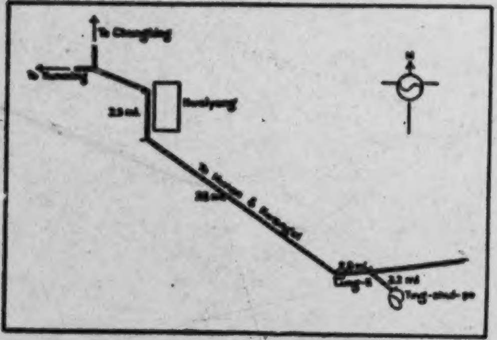


Fig. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chi- 361
nese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the homs of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member.

The rest of the valley, except for one deep 133
cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions
and given over to fields in which rice was 241
the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies, 312
beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role, 311
and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were
the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which 137
were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity—Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese—made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate.

THE VILLAGE OF YANG-CHIA-SAI

Location and Layout. Miss Li told me that the village was said to be "in the Dragon's Mouth." The large pond was to the west of the village. On the south were the wood, bamboo thickets, and the buffalo bull-fighting meadow (fig. 17, *a*). There were more bamboo thickets on the east. To the north was a rise of ground with rice fields between. Beyond the fields and thickets were fields and highways. They said that the fact that most of the houses of the village faced west was "good *feng shui*."[1] It was also good common sense, for the winds which brought inclement weather came from the northeast. One could enter the village by stone paths bordering the pond, through the wood, by a winding stone path from the south which continued through the village, dividing it into two parts known as Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, by a stone path from the east, or at various points between the houses on the north. Shang-sai and Hsia-sai mean Upper Stockade and Lower Stockade. The general impression was of a village open to the pond on the west and protected on other sides by trees, bamboo thickets, and higher land, with fields beyond.

I append a sketch map of the valley (fig. 4), and one of the village (fig. 5). In the village there were some sixty-odd buildings, of which but three were used for residence only. Thirty-three were divided into living rooms and stable or pig-sty, two into stable and kitchen. There were fourteen separate stables or pig-sties and nine granaries. There were also three shrines to the local deity — T'u Ti Miao — one beside the entrance to the village on the west, one where the stone path left the highway on the south (this was the chief one), and one where it left the village on the north. The "old house" of the chief family of the village was the only one which had a court with a gateway into it. This "heavenly well" was surrounded by (1) a small building of which the gateway was part and

---

[1] *Feng shui* (literally, "wind" and "water"). The geomantic system of the Chinese, by means of which favorable sites are determined for graves, houses,

36 which housed the wooden grain-cleaning machine, with the sleeping room of the grown daughter above, (2) the five-*chien* building containing living rooms and a stable for cows, (3) a pig-sty, and (4) a five-*chien* building containing kitchen and stables for water buffalo and ponies. A granary stood to the north of this with the cesspool beyond.

This map is of March 1, 1941. In the three years following changes were made. House 6 and granary west of House 24 were demolished. A part of House 8 was taken off and with the material the widow and her daughter put up a tiny building to the north of the court, consisting of one room roofed with planks set on somewhat haphazard and a still smaller one roofed with tile. The porch west of House 16 had a shack added to it and the family in House 14 kept a cow in it. The pig pen before House 31 was removed. The framework of a building to be erected south of House 7 blew down in a gale and was never set up again. The whole of House 3 was made into a stable, and the stable which had faced it was turned to face west and used as a house. Two new houses, one with mud walls and thatch roof, one with interwoven straw walls and thatch roof, were built beyond the extreme southeast of the village.

The space between houses and other buildings was occupied by house foundations used as threshing floors (fig. 13 *b-e*), stone courts, gardens, and stone paths, of which two followed a winding way from the pond to a stone highway east of the village and one was that which divided the village into two parts, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai.

16 **Population.** January 21, 1941, there were one hundred eighty-seven persons in the village. The total population did not vary much during the three years following, but there was a continual shifting due to births and deaths and moving back and forth between villages. When I returned to the village in February, 1942, the family in House 16 had

---

and other buildings. These sites are said to have an influence on the people.

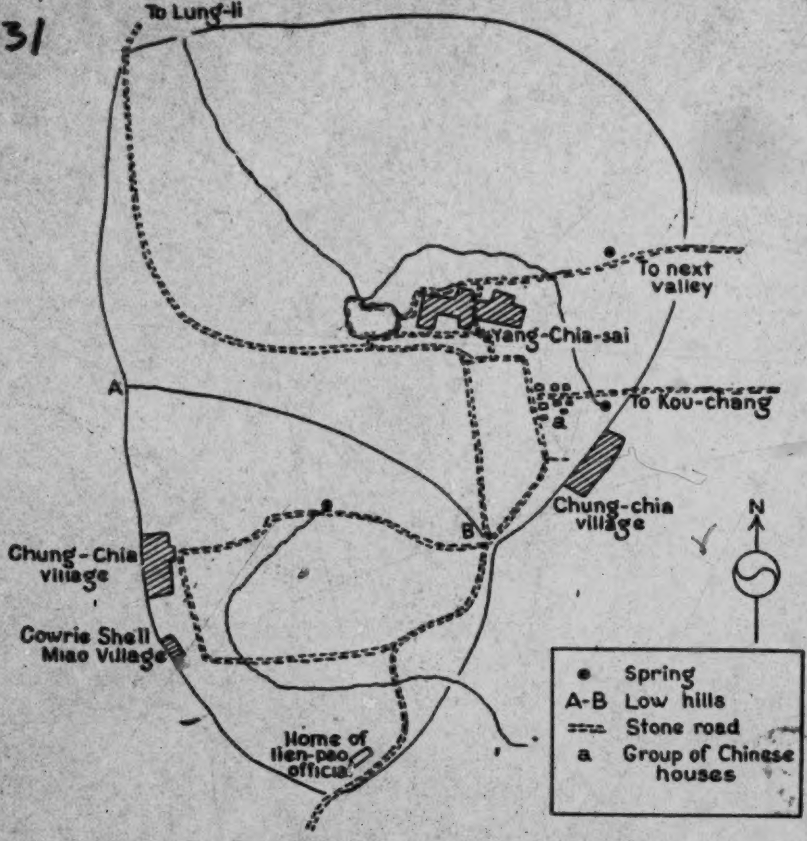

To Lung-li
To next valley
Yang-Chia-sai
A
a
To Kou-chang
Chung-chia village
B
N
Chung-Chia village
Cowrie Shell Miao Village
Home of lien-pao official
● Spring
A-B Low hills
==== Stone road
a Group of Chinese houses

FIG. 4. Sketch map of the valley of Ting-chui-pa.

[13a]

161 moved to some place in Ting-fan Hsien, but during the year the son and his wife (their baby daughter had died) returned and lived for a time with his older brother in House 17. They then moved back into House 16. Later
164 another brother came to live with the brother in House 17 bringing his wife with him. The son of the young man in House 15 had died of dysentery during the summer and the second son died of the same disease during the

summer I was there. The young man later took a second wife. The old ladies in Houses 1 and 12 both died of old age, the old man in House 15 of heart disease, and a man of fifty-odd in House 31 of injuries due to the kick of a cow. A baby boy in House 8 died of malnutrition. At least thirteen children were born during this period, including two that died. The daughter of the widow in House 8 went to live permanently with her husband.

[13c]

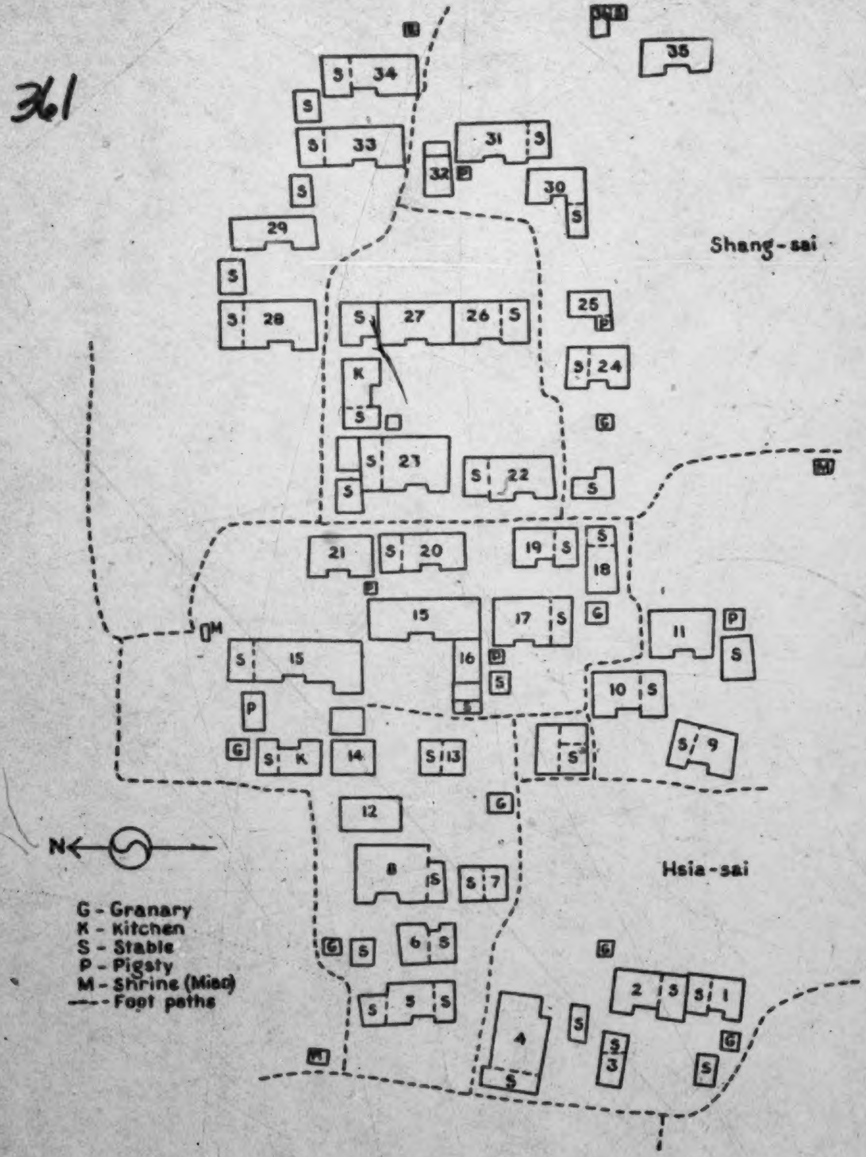

Shang-sai
Hsia-sai
N
G - Granary
K - Kitchen
S - Stable
P - Pigsty
M - Shrine (Miao)
---- Foot paths
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35

FIG. 5. Sketch map of the village of Yang-chia-sai (as of March 1, 1941).

Population by Houses As of February 1, 1941

361

House Number	Occupants, with ages
1	Grandmother (81); grandson (33), his wife (28), boy (1), girl (6); second grandson (30)
2	Widow (57), sons (20, 18, 13) daughters (15, 7)
3	Women with absent husband (31), son (4)
4	Grandfather (64); married son (33), wife (38), son (1), daughters (3, 2)
5	Grandfather (72); married son (45), wife (47), daughter (6)
6	Man (28), wife (28), daughter (1)
7	Grandmother (55); son (30), wife (30), son (1); son (17)
8	Man (48), wife (47), daughters (20, 6)
	Widow (49), son (9), daughter (17)
9	Grandfather (64), wife (65); married son (33), wife (37), son (12), daughters (15, 3, 2)
10	Widower (43), sons (12, 4) daughter (9)
11	Grandmother (66); married son (33), wife (33), sons (11, 1) daughter (8); second son (29)
12	Grandmother (75); son (58), wife (43), daughter (19)
13	Grandfather (65); son (35), wife (36), son (3)
14	Widow (52), son (20)
15	Grandfather (68), two wives (70, 45); married son (28), wife (27), son (1); daughters (17, 8)
	Nephew (41), two wives (40, 38), sons (14, 9, 8, 12, 1)
	Nephew (33), wife (25), son (3), daughters (10, 6, 1)
	Nephew (33), wife (34)
16	Grandfather (53), two wives (57, 33); son (33), his wife (32), daughter (1); son (3), daughter (1)
17	Man (37), wife (32), daughter (8)
18	Widow (52), son (25), daughter (18)
19	Man (46), wife (47), sons (14, 7), daughter (11)
20	Man (31), wife (25), daughter (1)
21	Man (49), wife (44), daughters (16, 2)
22	Grandparents (70, 60); son (45), wife (40), sons (3, 1)
	Man (60), wife (64), son (28), daughter (16)
23	Man (50), wife (48), daughter (16), sons (12, 7 4)
24	Widow (60)
25	Man (34), wife (35), son (3)
26	Man (34), wife (38), sons (6, 4), daughter (2)
27	Grandparents (60, 59); married son (35), his wife (32), sons (5, 3), daughter (2); son (18), daughter (15)
28	Grandparents (74, 74); married son (43), wife (43), sons (10, 9, 5, 2), daughter (1)
29	Man (56), wife (60)
30	Man (35), wife (34), son (3)
31	Grandparents (56, 59); son (28), wife (25) wife pregnant
32	Man (37), wife (35), son (10), daughters (5, 2)
33	Grandparents (63, 63); married son (25), wife (25), son (4), daughter (6); son (19), daughter (18)
34	Grandmother (60); widowed son (26), daughter (2); son (18)

[15a]

361 A younger brother of the widower in House 10, with his wife, son, and daughter, moved into the southern part of the house but later built the new house with mud walls. The part of the house in which they had lived then became a stable, as originally intended. A new family, related to that in House 32, and consisting of a man, his wife and two sons, aged three and one, built the other new house. An elderly woman, a relative, came to live

with the family in House 14 and a family with a baby with the widow in House 24. Before her baby was born the wife of the young man in House 31 joined him. When the young man and his wife in House 16 moved back they brought a boy of twelve with them, but he later returned to his own home. The third nephew in House 15 and his wife moved away, and a boy of sixteen, relative of the old man's first wife, took his place. During

[15c]

Population by Age Groups (see fig. 6)

162

Age	Male		Female		Total	
1	6		7		13	
2	1		7		8	
3	9		3		12	
4	5		0		5	
5	3	24	2	19	5	43
6	1		6		7	
7	2		1		3	
8	0		2		2	
9	3		0		3	
10	2	8	1	10	3	18
11	1		1		2	
12	4		0		4	
13	1		0		1	
14	2		0		2	
15	0	8	2	3	2	11
16	0		3		3	
17	1		2		3	
18	3		2		5	
19	1		1		2	
20	2	7	1	9	3	16
21	0		0		0	
22	0		0		0	
23	1		0		1	
24	0		0		0	
25	2	3	3	3	5	6
26	0		0		0	
27	0		1		1	
28	4		2		6	
29	1		0		1	
30	2	7	1	4	3	11
31	1		1		2	
32	0		3		3	
33	4		2		6	
34	2		2		4	
35	6	13	2	10	8	23
36	0		1		1	
37	2		1		3	
38	0		3		3	
39	0		0		0	
40	0	2	2	7	2	9
41	1		0		1	
42	0		0		0	
43	1		2		3	
44	0		1		1	
45	3	5	1	4	4	9

361 the busy season a boy of about the same age from Lung-li came to work there, too, and [16a]

000 Fig. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai.

Population by Age Groups (see fig. 6)

Age	*Male*		*Female*		*Total*	
46	1		0		1	
47	0		3		3	
48	1		1		2	
49	1		1		2	
50	1	4	0	5	1	9
51	0		0		0	
52	0		2		2	
53	1		0		1	
54	1		0		1	
55	0	2	1	3	1	5
56	2		0		2	
57	0		2		2	
58	1		0		1	
59	0		2		2	
60	2	5	4	8	6	13
61	0		0		0	
62	0		0		0	
63	2		1		3	
64	1		2		3	
65	1	4	0	3	1	7
66	0		1		1	
67	0		0		0	
68	1		0		1	
69	0		0		0	
70	0	1	0	1	0	2
71	0		0		0	
72	1		0		1	
73	0		0		0	
74	1		1		2	
75	0	2	1	2	1	4
76	0		0		0	
77	0		0		0	
78	0		0		0	
79	0		0		0	
80	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	0		0		0	
82	0		1		0	
83	0		0		0	
84	0		0		0	
85	0	0	0	1	0	1
		95		92		187

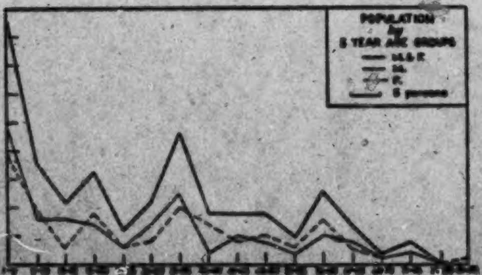


Fig. 6. Population by age groups in the village of Yang-chia-sai.

[16b]

361 then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

596 621 **Types of Family and Interrelationship.** With the exception of a Chinese family by the name of Liu in House 4, who said that they were the original inhabitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

[17a]

596
621
might live in one house and a married son and his family remain with them, in addition to any younger brothers and sisters who were not yet married or who had not yet set up their own establishments. Other married sons and their families would be living in adjoining or separate houses. The widow in another house might be the wife of the father's brother. I could not work out this interrelationship completely while I was there, but give the following examples: In House 1 lived a grandmother with her married grandson and an unmarried one. In House 2 lived the widow of her son with her unmarried children. A nephew was with the aviation corps in Kunming and his wife and son lived in House 3. The men in Houses 10, 25, and 35 (brothers) were her nephews. The widowed sister-in-law of the man in House 12 lived in House 14. The man in House 17 was son of the old man

[176]

596 in House 16. The man in House 26 was son
of the man in House 27, as was also the man
621 in House 30. The younger man in House 28
was nephew of the man and wife in House 29.
With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the
old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House
34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife
of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife
of the man in House 17.

596 If one considers them by households, they
592 included, first, one of the Chinese extended
family type living in one connected group of
buildings. This family consisted of a man of
seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

596 their son and his two wives and two sons,
both of whom died, a second wife of the old
592 man, aged forty-seven, her two unmarried daughters, a nephew with his two wives and five sons, a second nephew with a wife and five children, and the third nephew and his wife, succeeded by the two boys.

I came to know this family fairly well, as it was in their "new house" that I lived all my time in the village. The old man was head of the family. He was not well (heart disease) and seldom left his rooms in bad weather. Even on warm, sunny days he rarely left the court. It was usually a sign of something important going on when he came out. He dictated as to relations with the outside world, such as the sale of timber or grain, and his word was law in disputes. His second wife stayed very close and came into the room whenever he was likely to get excited. The

TYPES OF FAMILIES

	No. of persons
1 large family with 1 man who has two wives, a married son by the first and two daughters by the second; three nephews with families	24
15 families with parents or widower or widow	
6 with married son, family, other unmarired children	37
6 with married son and his family	39
1 with married son and family, second wife and children	8
1 of widower and children	4
4 of widows with children	14
1 of widow alone	1
15 simple families (man, wife, children)	58
1 man and wife	2
Total	187

596
592

[17e]

596 men of the family — his son, the nephews,
and their sons — and his own daughters had
592 free access to his rooms. The second wife
was the household manager. The others evi-
dently took their orders for the day from
her, even the first wife lacking full independ-
ence from planning for the family as a whole.
This second wife was a good planner, but I
thought I detected times when her rule was
a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of
her personality, to have usurped almost com-
pletely the place of the first wife. Her daugh-
ters — one married and living in a village
twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un
(Yang cattle village) and the two at home
— were very like her. She was a fascinat-
ing woman with much poise, and her
daughters were handsomer than most of
the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at
596 home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen,
512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing
cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much
time washing her own clothes and visiting
relatives. She made it a habit to come in for
a visit with me before bedtime, which was
early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil
lamp gave me enough light to see to read or
sew. On the days when their stable was
cleared and their large field set out with rice
plants she helped and rather set the pace, but
on successive days she worked on more con-
genial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some
schooling. The older wife headed the second
group of the family at such times as certain
feasts in the house — the wives of the neph-
ews, the son's wife, and the younger children,
and the two young men. But at the chief
feasts of the year she joined the group in the
old man's room. She was very bent and
probably could not do as much work as when
she was younger. She spent much time taking
care of the grandsons and in gardening. After
the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning
[768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the
skirt worn by a bride and her attendants dou-
bled across the back instead of the back apron,
as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season
of the year, when rice was transplanted, I
saw none of the men of the family doing hard
work. For a while it seemed as if the son and
second nephew did nothing but sleep and
eat.

593 [875] eat. The older nephew was teacher in the *lien pao* school when it was in session. The son acted for the old man in business matters, though subject to his father's decisions. The oldest nephew became head of the family after the old man's death and the second nephew took his old sitting room. I got a Chinese newspaper, which I shared with the teacher and his uncle, a keen old man with remarkably able opinions and quite a bit of knowledge of the world, which he liked to discuss at length.

The son's first wife spoke less Chinese than any of the other women of the family except the old man's first wife, who spoke almost none. They were, therefore, harder to get to know well, but the more I saw of them the better I liked them. Others I found a bit trying because they wanted so much for their immediate family or close relatives, and I am almost certain that the married daughter of the old man or the second nephew's wife took for herself two large sheets of mine. I never learned to share everything I owned as they did within the family group.

The wife of the second nephew made up for him in spunk and energy. She did a great deal for me, often prepared dishes to eat with the rice and would then bring over her own large portion of rice and eat at least half of what she had prepared of the dishes, for which I had furnished the ingredients from market. Once I bought a piece of cloth in market, for which she hinted so strongly that I had to give it to her. She insisted upon doing my washing, brought me firewood and water, but in the end expected a handsome reward. Generally speaking, all of them wanted everything for their immediate family and close relatives. They showed no community spirit in the sense of sharing good things with others who were remotely related to them. Her oldest daughter, twelve, was very like her. In fact, she seemed to be a model Miao girl, pleasant, capable, and able to do only a little less than the older women in both field work
855 and embroidery. The second daughter was made responsible for two baby sisters and seemed to have a very jolly time with them, doing everything for them, after they were past the age when they required their mother much of the time, amusing them and teaching

them songs. The only boy was badly spoiled, 855
but attractive when he willed to be.

The two wives of the oldest nephew were about equal in ability and attractiveness. One had three sons, the oldest of whom was a fine lad in middle school in Lung-li, the others two little imps. Heaven to one of them would have been all the good things to eat in the world in a pile and himself in the middle of it. The second wife had two sons, one who was usually set to watch ponies, cows, or water buffalo as they grazed and an adorable baby who was his father's delight.

These children all liked to try to teach me words and sentences. The boy and his cousin from Yang-niu-ts'un who were in middle school wanted me to help them with their English, which was a required subject, and would have given up school to study with me entirely.

The old man who lived in House 16 also 596
had two wives, one much older than the other. This older one had married sons and grandchildren, while the children of the second were mere babies. It was the old man and his family who moved back to their old home in Ting-fan Hsien and whose two married sons returned to Yang-chia-sai to live. I could not discover why this old man had taken a wife of the age of his sons, for the first wife had several sons and was still very vigorous and capable. The reasons for taking second wives in the other family were various. The old man needed someone more vigorous to serve him and manage the affairs of the household. The oldest nephew married a girl betrothed to a brother who died. The son married a second time when his two sons, the only children by the first wife, had both died.

One household contained a grandmother and two grandsons, one of whom had a family. Thirteen households consisted of one or more elderly persons and a married son with his family. Six of them had other grown sons or a son and daughter at home. In at least two other cases another married son and his family lived in separate houses. There was one case in which the parents were dead; two brothers lived in different parts of the same house in Hsia-sai and the third with his family in Shang-sai until one of the brothers built a house in Shang-sai, leaving the oldest

596 brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family.

562 Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome.

563 The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice.

764 An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother.

361 During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the
slopes, with their fields on other slopes and
563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the
463 whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one
small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'ü,
who lived in the mountains and were iron-
596 workers. There I learned that the family in
which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated
from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A
younger brother and his family were living in
the old home, a fine house with three walls of
large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-
law in one of the other villages. Of these five
villages three contained families by the name
of Yang (楊) with single families of other
surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and
one of the Wang (任) family. They had
764 intermarried, as I found out when an old
man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died.
At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-
niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a
woman from the Lo family. For this old
man they danced for two nights and the
funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a
difference between the funerals for men and
for women; for the women two charges of
gunpowder were set off at a time, for the
men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a
great many wooded slopes. Well up on one
342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un.
Some of the fields were also on the mountain
sides, but most of them on the floor of the
valley below through which flowed a stream,
watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The
school and *lien pao* office occupied a new build-
ing at the gate of the village. There were
other new buildings in the village, too, and
foundations with beaten floors filled in and
used as threshing floors. Local men were do-
ing the carpentering on one, including the
making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc.
This was in front of the house belonging to
the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one.
342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen,
stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, en-
tered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one
entered the living rooms from the second
level, but there was also a ladder from the
stable and kitchen. On the new house I

342 noticed the symbols for *yin* and *yang* and the *pa kua* for heaven and earth over the door.

342 596 During the time of my first visit I was invited to stay in the home of a relative of the same generation as the old man's son in Yang-chia-sai. They had two houses, the highest on the slope on which the village was built. The old house was a good one but the new house as good as any I saw in Kweichow, being built all of wood, with balconies on the second storey (fig. 13, *f*). The central hall and front of the building were lacquered red and black. My room had a wooden floor. They served my meals to me there. The household consisted of an old lady whom I privately nicknamed Cricket because of her liveliness, her son, his wife and three little daughters. The son had been educated in Kweiyang and was a teacher in the *lien pao* school. In his house were also the articles used by a priest. They had a buffalo bull kept in a stable of its own and being made ready for the bullfight. [515 574] In this family I saw the evening foot-washing, at which guests were invited to use the tub first and then others in turn. I saw it later in a home in Shang-sai where I visited.

123 I had taken some knitted caps as gifts and wool enough to make one more. Mo-mei gave three of them to her sister's child and three to other relatives she considered most important, so I made the seventh one for one of the children in my host's family. After that was finished I took lessons from Cricket in the making of hemp thread, helped the little girls make necklaces of large snail shells and earrings of fern crosiers, and was invited to several meals in other houses.

352 353 When I arrived there were on the steps leading to the veranda of the old house a table with a pair of buffalo bull horns, points down, a millstone with a spray of rose in the hole, two rice bowls upside down, and some pieces of bamboo on it. Resting on the ground and extending over the table to above the eaves were two long bamboo poles, one with the end split to hold a rice bowl and the other with a sort of bird's nest on top. The house in which the sister of the old man in our family had died had bamboo sticks with straw tied to the top at the two doors.

ECONOMIC LIFE

342 **Houses: Construction and Divisions Indicating Use.** The framework of houses, like those of Chinese and Chung-chia of this region, was constructed of large, round pillars and squared beams fitted together and secured with wooden pegs. A building was of from one to five *chien*.[1] Under the timbering was a stone foundation up to four feet high, which for living rooms was filled in with pounded clay. The stable was a pit with steps leading down into it. The roofs were of tile laid on fir planks or straw, reed, and grass thatch over bamboo poles lashed to the rafters. The typical plan called for a hall entered from a recessed porch about three feet wide, and one or two *chien* on either side, which were subdivided or left as one large room. No two houses in the village were exactly alike either in the actual arrangement of the rooms or in the uses to which they were put. The very small room back of the hall sometimes contained a loom or a rice-hulling machine, or was used for storage or as a sleeping room. One of the side rooms was used for animals, as a stable and kitchen with no partition, as kitchen and general living room with no partition, or divided by partitions. Any of these side rooms except the stable could have beds in them. In addition to his bedroom, back of which was a general utility room, the head of the family in which I lived had what might be called a private sitting room. During the colder weather there was a bed for him there. Back of each of the other front rooms there was a sleeping room. The loft was also used for that purpose both in the main house and in the building opposite. The "new house" (fig. 13, *e*) had five *chien*, of which one was divided into two bedrooms for the younger nephew and his family, one into the bedroom and a general room for the son and his first wife, one into the hall and a small room for storage, one into the bedroom and a general room for the son and his second wife, and one into kitchen and storeroom for fuel, lime,

---

[1] The standard section of a Chinese house.

and so on. It was in the rooms for the son 342
and his second wife that I lived before he married her. The front room was then a study and schoolroom.

The houses also varied considerably with regard to the material used for siding. The "old house" and one other had three walls of sundried brick and mud plaster and one of wood; the "new house" had three walls of perfectly matched and fitted large, gray brick and a fourth of wood. Others used any combination of planks vertical or horizontal, with or without the bark, interwoven bamboo strips with or without buffalo dung plaster, pieces of bamboo matting, bundles of straw or bundles of faggots, and the newest house had walls of beaten earth similar to those of the poorer Chinese houses in the vicinity. One house even had a wall of the tile intended for roofing, which will probably be used later for that purpose. The house of my host in Yang-niu-ts'un was, as I have said, of wood throughout. In general they built as good a house as they could afford, following Chinese styles.

Even the poorest house with one room, stable, and thatch roof had a loft for the storage of faggots, straw, unthreshed grain, baskets of grain and miscellaneous articles, sometimes piles of grain and other foods. None of the houses were weathertight, but this was not an unmixed evil, for there had to be some means of escape for most of the smoke from brushwood fires built in pits in the floor. The granaries were about six feet square and built on piles. The floor inside was of beaten earth on planks.

The wood used in construction was pine for the timbers, partitions, and loft flooring, fir and cypress for the roof planks, bamboo for poles across the rafters, interwoven siding, loft flooring and partitions. Tile, straw, grass, and reeds were used for roofing, bundles of straw or faggots for siding.

The better houses had above the door the 342
yin and *yang* symbol (fig. 7), and the *pa kua* 353

342 symbols for heavens and earth, ☰ and ☷.
346 One house I saw had a festoon of wooden
353 daggers above the door, also. The first two
copy Chinese custom and the third resembles
a charm against evil used by the Hua Miao of
An-shun Hsien.

[531]

Fig. 7. The *yin* and *yang* symbol.

According to the season one might see across the front of the houses festoons of tobacco leaves drying, and around them large bundles of faggots or straw (fig. 13, *c*), later stored in the loft or used as fuel in the kitchen, sheaves of grain or bundles of bean, pea, and other plants pulled up by the roots, carrying poles with baskets on either end, baskets used to transport small pigs to market, various other types of baskets, wood or bamboo poles, newly dyed cloth or clothing drying on branches or bamboo poles from one tripod of poles to another, wooden water casks, water buffalo horns, threshing boxes, spreaders, stones for sharpening knives, piles of straw, tile or brick.

343 **Sanitary Arrangements.** The toilets of
514 the village were open cesspools or the woods and thickets. In winter there seemed to be only three or four cesspools in the village, but toward summer little straw or brushwood "tents" around other pits sprang up at several points in or on the edge of the village. Chickens and dogs were scavengers, and dogs were trained from puppyhood to come when called to clean up after a baby or small child. Now and then a well-to-do family followed the Chinese custom of having a pit with planks laid across it in a small room or lean-to. The night soil was used as fertilizer.

352 **Furniture.** In general the furniture in the houses in this village did not correspond to that in Chinese houses. In the schoolroom-study and adjoining bedroom there were the Chinese square tables and long benches. Similar ones were found in other houses so that in the whole village there were enough to provide for guests at a fairly large feast. In the study there were also a small organ and a

[22a]

352 foreign clock, both broken. The usual seat was a small, rectangular stool about eight inches high, often lacking a leg or two. In some houses I saw a few sections of log, straw hassocks, or low, long benches. Sometimes a long, wide bench stood under the window. Beds were a wooden frame or box on four legs or supported by two sawhorses. In one house thick coffin boards laid on blocks of wood formed a bed. However, not all houses had beds or enough for all the family downstairs, so that some of them slept in the loft. Beds usually had a thick straw mattress, a straw mat, or both. A few had a mat of felt. There were comfortables of the Chinese type — a pad of cotton with a removable cover not quite as large as the pad on one side and large enough on the other to fold over and overlap the first piece, with mitered corners. Others were like a rug with a nap, woven of straw on a vertical loom. Hard, small, bolster-shaped pillows were stuffed with cotton and were for looks only.

352 252 574 264 Even where there was a built-up stove with cooking bowls fitted into it, much of the cooking was done in smaller bowls on an iron hoop on three legs. On the inner side of the ring were three prongs toward the center to support the bowl. This set over the fire in the floor, which also provided heat. The big stove was used for cooking rice, when a large number were to be cooked for, to make bean curd, to distill wine, or to prepare the mash for animals. Even at feasts men and women often sat around separate floor fires and ate from dishes set on a board across the bowl or from the broth being cooked in it. At times when there were many guests, such as a wedding or funeral, the men usually ate indoors, the women at tables out-of-doors. At the New Year feasts in the house men and women ate together, as well as for the evening meal after the work of the day was done. For the fires there were iron tongs and in the ashes were set earthen pots for tea. Over the fire were suspended a square of interwoven bamboo used as a shelf, a piece of iron with several hooks, and pieces of pork or beef in loops of straw.

352 Other furniture included wooden cupboards for food or one built on the outside of the house with doors opening into the room, various baskets and jars, trays and bowls (see

on a bench or on top of the cupboard), jars 352
of rice wine, and a bean mill. On the walls hung scythes for cutting wood, carrying poles, carpenter's tools, a wicker basket of chopsticks, skeins and balls of hemp thread, small jars of oil, and sometimes a water pipe. Leaning against the wall were pipes with long bamboo stems, bundles of faggots and carrying poles with baskets on either end. In a well-to-do home pieces of meat hung from the rafters. Lamps were the ordinary pottery saucer with pith wicks and vegetable or t'ung oil fuel. They were suspended by a wire from the rafters or set on an iron stand. For lighting the way or borrowing fire thin pieces of wood tipped with sulfur, small bundles of straw, or a few strips of bamboo were used. Generally speaking, the objects found in these villages were not for comfort but rather for utility and convenience.

Every home had a shrine to "Heaven, earth, 352
rulers, relatives, and scholars," which was 776
merely the inscription in Chinese characters on red paper pasted up on the wall facing the door, with appropriate sentiments on other strips on either side. In some homes there was also a shelf the full width of the room — the main hall, if there was one — with these inscriptions above and holders for incense, candles and other objects for worship on it. After the old man in the family in which I lived died a square table was set up in one corner of the main room with cloth forming a third side. On the table were the ancestral tablet, figures and cones of mosaic, colored paper with pompoms of frilled paper on top, a support for incense sticks, and small dishes. Along the top and sides of the opening were inscriptions in Chinese. I saw this shrine, also, in two houses in Yang-nin-ts'un, while in a third home the open shelf above a cupboard was used for this purpose. Here the objects were an ancestral tablet, a lamp, a support for incense sticks, and a gong. At dusk, as in Chinese Buddhist homes, they set in new, lighted incense sticks and beat the gong several times.

This main hall was not lived in as much as 352
other rooms of the house, but according to 412
the season the large bamboo mats used on the threshing floor, bamboo baskets for grain, various implements — plows, harrows, grain-

cleaning machines, flails—other baskets and 352
trays were kept there (see fig. 13, *b-e*). During 412
the rice harvest it was often piled full of grain until there had been enough sunny days to get it all sunned and stored or sold. When an adult died, the coffin was always set in this room with the foot toward the door. At the lunar New Year glutinous rice paste was pounded in a stone mortar and the cakes shaped in this room. Of course offerings were made here to ancestral spirits and to the gods of the household.

Food. The basis of their diet, like that of 262
the Chinese in the district, was white rice. 252
Except for a short time directly after a good rice harvest, this was mixed with beans or whole wheat flour in tiny balls. With it they ate cooked green vegetables from their own gardens, highly seasoned with salt and hot red or green chillies, fresh or dried. Their gardens had a succession of the following vegetables: turnips, celery, carrots, celery cabbage, spinach, white and sweet potatoes, lettuce root, rape, mustard, various kinds of beans and peas, maize, cucumbers, onions, garlic, leeks, and various other roots. In May, for instance, there were new potatoes, peas, and broad beans in the gardens and bamboo shoots in the thickets, in June green beans, rape leaves, and cabbage. Broth was made of dried beans and peas, and curd from soy beans. Nearly every family raised pigs. The pork was eaten both fresh and in the form of excellent smoked and cured meat and sausages. The blood was also mixed with bean curd and made into sausage. At rare intervals a cow was killed and the meat eaten fresh or dried. Now and then beef was brought into the village or bought in market. Of the bamboo two species were edible. In spring and fall bamboo shoots were much enjoyed. Potatoes were sliced very thin with the skins left on and fried. When corn was ripe it was eaten on the cob after being roasted in the hot ashes, or the kernels were mashed, wrapped in husks, boiled, and eaten from the husks. Persimmon and other pickles were made. If the water in the pond was not too deep in the spring, they dug for two kinds of water chestnut. Small fish were taken from the pond, either fished for with pole and line or caught in the hands as a large number of

262 people waded from one end of the pond to the other when it was about waist deep.

252 Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about 252 dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was always on hand in abundance and drunk freely. 574 An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

264 Children seemed always to have something 857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

261 857 market without some small treat for them. Often at feasts a dish was filled with the nicest pieces of fat pork, and so on, and some child was given this to take home and share with others or eat it himself. They were often given the head or feet of a chicken or duck, which were considered special dainties.

261 When a number went to a bullfight or some other special occasion at a distance, they carried small covered baskets of finely split bamboo filled with boiled glutinous rice and slices of cold, roast fat pork, and cloth bags of wild chestnuts and sunflower seeds. These things they ate when they stopped to rest on the way or while the fight was going on. Besides they patronized the sellers of noodles, fruit, and rice taffy.

When a household invited others to work with them at some such task as transplanting rice, building or reroofing a house, cleaning stables, and transporting manure to the fields, the chief dish of the good meal served at the end of the day was almost invariably fresh bean curd broth.

252 For the lunar New Year and the feast of Ch'ing Ming pigs were always killed and fresh bean curd and new rice wine made in abundance. Pork, bean curd, and wine also featured the feasts in connection with weddings and funerals. For San Yüeh San the men prepared themselves a feast of chicken, pork, and bean curd. The chicken was the one killed as a blood sacrifice before the T'u Ti Miao. The glutinous rice was made into a paste and wrapped into three-cornered cakes in bamboo leaves for the festival of Tuan Yang. For Hsiao Mang it was boiled, colored yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple, mixed with the black variety and made into balls. I saw this among the Chinese in Yünnan at lunar New Year time. After some days that which remained was dried in the sun and parched.

291 Clothing. The Cowrie Shell Miao men all
wore the Chinese peasant costume, but few of
them could afford cloth shoes and therefore
292 wore straw sandals. For special occasions such
as a wedding or a bullfight they liked to wear
a new, long garment, belted in with a long
blue cloth sash, and another length of cloth
to form a large turban (fig. 18, *f*). In addition to his good clothes with riding jacket, a
bridegroom had a red sash over the left shoul-

der, knotted on the right hip, and a spray of silver leaves in his cap. A priest wore a long yellow or orange robe of cloth or thin silk, whose skirt was shirred onto the waist, and a fancy scarf about his head or a bamboo rain-hat. Both the chanter and the drummer at the ritual in connection with "opening the way" and burial for the dead, and the priests in the procession which opened a bullfight wore this costume. 292

Some of the very little girls wore the tribal costume only on special occasions, but the older girls and women wore it constantly. For everyday they were barefoot or wore straw sandals of their own making. In the winter they wound the legs with cloth from ankle to knee. The remainder of the costume consisted of long, wide trousers of dark blue cloth, a front apron of finer dark blue cloth embroidered in white, which had to be two and a half feet long, and a back apron one and a half feet long of hemp cloth dyed dark blue, a blue blouse made on straight lines but worn folded surplice to the right, and belted in with the strings from the aprons and from an embroidered overpiece on the blouse (fig. 8, *a*, *b*), and a woven belt an arm-span long. On the head they wore a turban, which was sometimes just a length of cloth wound around, sometimes a carefully constructed one. Of course for the roughest work they wore their oldest, patched, faded, tattered clothes (see fig. 19, *c*). Unless they had lost them or given them to a daughter, the women and girls wore silver hooks like an inverted question mark in their ears (fig. 19, *c*), and the girls wore, also, heavy silver bracelets, silver neck loops and rings, and a Chinese thimble. 291 301

For the hemp apron they raised the hemp and processed it, made the thread, dyed it, and wove the cloth themselves. All other cloth, except the bands used to hold the pad about a baby spreadeagled on the back, which was also woven of hemp thread, and both cotton and silk thread were bought in the markets. They made hemp thread for mending and sewing. Of the heavier cotton they liked to buy white in the piece and dye it a very dark, almost black blue; but they also bought it already dyed. They used nutgalls (五貝子) mixed with earth as a dye. The 294

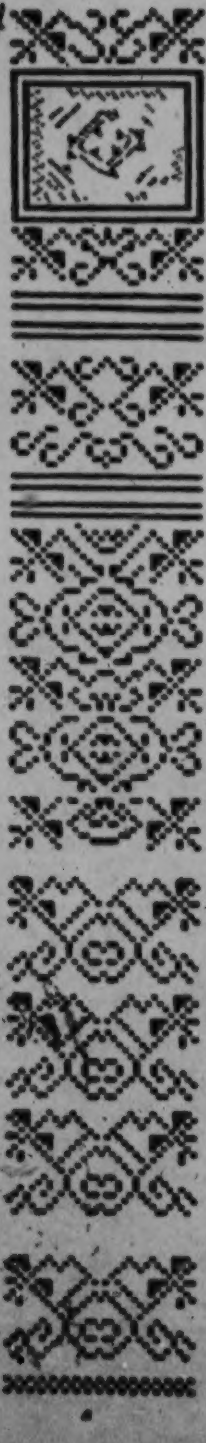
291 finer cloth, of which they also made blouses, was already dyed when bought.

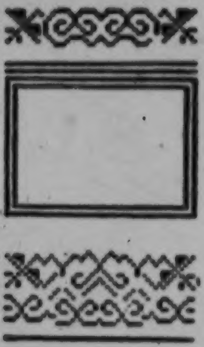
283 Hemp thread was made as follows: The stalks were cut close to the ground and stripped of the leaves, which were put back on the hemp bed as fertilizer. The bark and fiber were stripped from the wands and the bark loosened and stripped from the fiber with a knife, one end of the strip being held with the toes and one with the left hand. The long fibers were hung in the sun to dry and bleach. They were then boiled and sunned again. For the cloth they made a coarse thread by twisting the split fibers with the fingers and then rolling them against the leg or thigh. The split fibers had previously been twisted in bunches into a darning ball shape, and as the thread was made it was wound in a figure eight around a loop of bamboo. From this it was made into skeins, which were boiled and then wound into balls like those of cord (fig. 18, *e*). When weaving was to be done the balls were set into a tub of water and reeled from it onto the shuttle.

301 For married women the better turban was put on as follows: The hair was braided in two braids to the front, being pieced out with thread if the hair was scanty. One of a pair of chopsticks was laid across the head above the forehead and these braids wound around to hold it securely in place. A piece of blue cloth was fitted lengthwise over the stick and fastened with a needle or two, or sewed. Over the stick was put another piece of blue cloth with the ends folded on top of the head, and a longer piece of white was wound around the head at the height of the base of the stick. Another white piece was wound around the head at the line—high forehead, tips of ears, nape of neck. Finally a longer strip of dark blue cloth was wound around the outside of the white, but higher in the back, and the ends were tucked in. The ends of the white cloth were pulled out to stand up like the ends of a bow. If the family was in mourning, the outer strip was white. For special occasions a second, usually bright blue strip was put on in such a way that about half an inch of the lowest white cloth showed below it.

302 Unmarried girls shaved the head except
882 for the crown and braided the hair from that

294
301





b

Fig. 8. Cross-stitch designs used in sections of the overpiece on the blouse. *a*, the front of overpiece; *b*, the back of overpiece (see p. 27).

[26a]

302 882 forward in one braid. One short piece of white was set on across the forehead and tips of the ears and crossed at the nape of the neck. A similar piece of bright blue cloth was put on over it to show about half an inch of the white. These were secured with a narrow

[29-30]

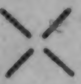


FIG. 9. Embroidered design on narrow strip of white cloth.

strip of cloth. A piece of cloth, six feet long, was folded six times lengthwise and wound around the head with the two ends tied to stand up in the back like the ends of a bow. A piece of dark blue cloth, ten feet long, was folded in the same way, wound on the outside of the white one, and tucked in at the back. These two pieces formed a wide, flat, horizontal cartwheel turban with the braid lying inside.

301 A still more elaborate turban called for more strips in addition to the white and bright blue ones, which were sometimes lavender, black, other shades of blue, and white. This was worn by unmarried girls when they went to visit in other villages. More lengths of white cloth were also put on sometimes to make the turban that much wider. For such occasions as a bullfight they sometimes wore, instead of the plain dark blue outer strip, one of dark blue embroidered on the ends in white and lines of color, and for the length of two hand-spans in white so that when it was put on the design showed all around the head outside of a plain band of dark blue, and on the bow ends.

The front apron was embroidered in lines of colored silk thread and spaced rows of a design in white cotton thread. The overpiece (figs. 8; 20 *a, d*) on the blouse was made up of several pieces, each with its special name, method, and order of making, and design, and the stitches were so carefully taken that it could be worn with either side out. First, two long strips of dark blue cloth were covered an inch and a half wide down the center with an over-and-over stitch diagonally across two threads in coarse white thread. A narrow strip of white cloth of the same length was then embroidered in color. In front the design was of red and green (see fig. 9) with 301 three lines of green, red, and blue lengthwise on either side. Over the shoulder and in the back it was a straight line of alternate orange and dark blue down the center with a wavy line of alternate red and green on either side. These two were sewed together with herringbone stitch in white. The outer edge of the blue piece was turned under and covered with a weaving stitch in two or five colors, as the maker wished. In front and back, between the white strips, were set strips of dark blue embroidered in horizontal bands of cross-stitch in white, each stitch crossing one thread. On the under side the stitches had to be horizontal. Almost at the top in each strip was a medallion in color, in which a dark red was predominant (figs. 19, *a-c;* 20, *a, d*). The one in front had a cross, and diagonal lines in the corners. That in the back had a design of crosses, with a bit of blue, green, and yellow in the open spaces. The strip in the back was wider than that in front. Two pieces were made for the back, the upper one of color or black on white, the lower one of color on red. These were sewed on across the ends so that the lower side was a little wider than the upper. Across the very end was sewed a row of about twenty cowrie shells. In front a strip of blue was sewed across the three strips and strings fastened to it. On the under side a strip of bright blue was sewed on over the white strip which lay on the shoulders.

I tried to make the overpiece but was not 295 very successful. Not that I felt too badly about it, for they said that women over fifty were not supposed to be able to see to do it. I managed to make the strips of dark blue worked solidly in lines all the way up and down the strip and with mitered corners, and the zigzag lines on the white pieces, to fasten them together with herringbone stitch, and to turn in the edges with a weaving stitch in color. But the fine cross-stitch in the center strips was too much for me and I learned only that the stitches must be horizontal on the under side by doing them the other way.

An invitation to "drink wine" in another 292 village called for new trousers, blouse, and 574 overpiece, if possible, and the wide turban.

For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth. 292 541 301

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide. 291

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants 292 586

292 585 wore this orange blouse outside; the others black. To the outer blouses they tacked embroidered bands with silver disks on them as follows: at the bottom across the back and each hip one with thirty-nine small disks; around the upper arm two or three with twenty-two small disks on each; around the neck one embroidered in green, red, and blue with twenty-two large disks and a similar narrow band with twenty-nine small disks on it. Instead of the two aprons they wore a finely pleated, knee-length skirt of dark blue, almost black, heavy cloth with a six-inch band of white at the bottom. For the narrowest skirt twenty feet of cloth were required, or more. There were two of the woven belts worn with this costume, over a length of soft purple silk, whose ends showed in the back as if a handkerchief had been tucked in. The overpiece was covered with silver disks as described above and the extra ornaments were added. In addition, each girl had several neck loops and a silver chain about her neck from which were suspended five more neck loops so that they lay on her chest. At least two girls in one case had a row of small silver fish suspended from the chain in the back.

For this costume the women in a related household evolved a special turban for each girl, which consumed considerable time. It was like that worn by unmarried girls in that they shaved all but the crown of the head and put on the narrow, overlapping bands, but there were more of these — in one case seven, in another ten. The order of the strips was as follows: white, bright blue, orange, green, yellow, black, lavender, turquoise, white, lavender, from the inside out. These bands were so put on that they showed only a quarter of an inch of the one below, and the overlapping had to make a straight line up the back of the head. It was like that of the married women in that the stick was put on and the hair, braided in two braids, secured it. Two pieces of blue black cloth were put on over the stick in turn and sewed in place. A third piece, of soft, thin blue silk, was large enough to cover the stick and the top of the head. Another, narrow, but long, strip was put on so as to hold this firmly and tightly. A long strip of white cloth, folded six times lengthwise, was wound around the head

292 585 horizontally, and finally the embroidered scarf was put on so that the whole design showed and the ends were tied, at the back. All wore new straw sandals.

292 764 The costume in which two old ladies were laid out while the ritual of "opening the way" was performed was still different (fig. 18, *f*). The turban was that of a married woman, with the embroidered scarf. Several blouses were put on, of which the outer was of orange silk, and in one case there were two pairs of trousers. Both the pleated skirt and aprons were worn. On the feet were cloth stockings and Chinese cloth shoes. In one case there was just one overpiece; in the other three were tacked together. This latter old lady had kept the old style turban scarf, overpiece, and front apron. The designs were different from those used at the time I was with them and the colors were faded soft and lovely, showing that silk thread with good dyes had been used. That sold in the markets now soon fades to almost white.

The designs on the front apron were in rows, one of birds with wings outspread, one of birds with wings folded, as if rising, and one of an animal, all in white. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that used in modern times, but that in the back was a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center. On the inner strip the four diagonal lines had become two, forming a cross. There were many strips with a dogtooth design on them. The cross-stitch designs were not of the fine type now used, but coarser, more like those on the overpiece worn by another group of Miao women I saw in the Lung-li market who said that they were Lao Hei Miao (Black Miao who had been long in the vicinity,) fig. 18, *f*. On the scarf the designs were of birds and medallions somewhat spaced. Her belt was of the same design as those I saw, but only half as wide.

292 These Lao Hei Miao women also wore trousers and aprons for everyday, but both aprons were of hemp and had no embroidery. Another group of Miao women, called by the Chinese Pai (White) Miao (fig. 20, *b*), wore the ceremonial skirt constantly over trousers

which came about six inches below the knees 292
instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed.

Agriculture. This was essentially an agri- 241
cultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family.

Although those who were educated knew 805
about the foreign calendar followed by the 796
Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the 241
lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac.* 527
For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children.

---

*See p. 30.

805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
527 thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
541 embroidered and entertained young men from
other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or
[764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[8] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring
243 appeared the women went to the mountains
to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

243
[illegible]
241 vary widely scattered near to and far from the village, so that when the plants were ready for transplanting they need not be carried so far to the permanent fields.

241
243
805
594 This plowing, harrowing, fertilizing, and seeding of fields to rice (figs. 15, *b*; 16, *a*) continued for more than a month. During that time the young people, both married and single, began the cleaning out of stables and carrying the straw and manure to fields into which the rice was later transplanted. I am not sure whether they were expected to initiate certain activities, or were just more enterprising, but the family in which I lived had their stables cleaned first. Perhaps it was because as the most scholarly of the village the men of this family could interpret the *Farmers' Almanac*. The work went on all day and there was much merriment connected with it. Some of the young men filled the baskets while the girls sat about and embroidered and joked with them. Even after they had carried their baskets (one on each end of a carrying pole) to a central point, they continued to embroider until Mo-mei gave a signal, whereupon they set off in a long file. First one, then a second, and then a third group of fields was visited, in different directions from the village but all belonging to the one family, whose holdings were comparatively extensive. At night the women of the household served a good meal to the whole company, for which they had made fresh bean curd.

On several days following this work continued and the stables of other households were cleaned. When it was a question of the household in which I lived, Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, set the pace, but she did not always make one of the group on other days. Rice in the seed beds was now well up above the water, making the fields look like lovely green lawns. One day I went with two of the women of our household to a field where they took out weeds, dug around plants of celery cabbage, beans and leeks, and cast in pulse. On another day the old mother put in the seed of chillies, using wood ashes as a top dressing.

241
312 During the third month (the second half of April and the first half of May, 1942) there was much rain, very welcome to the farmers because it insured the right amount of water

[30a]

241 312 for flooding the fields. There were days of rain followed by rainy nights so that at least part of the day was sunny. They continued the preparation of fields and the carrying of fertilizer and began the harvest of rape, wheat, beans and peas.

241 For rape the whole plant was cut near the ground and the sheaves set, heads down, in the fields or along the beams of a barn or house. The seeds were later knocked out against the inside of a large, square wooden box in the field or on a threshing floor. For wheat each head was snapped off and thrown into a basket on a woman's back, to be dumped into the baskets on the carrying pole and taken to a mat on the threshing floor to be flailed. I helped twice with the reaping of wheat. Bean and pea plants were pulled up by the roots, bundled up, and hung up on the rafters to dry. When they were thoroughly dry the dirt was pounded off with a large wooden mallet, which could also be used to beat out the pulse. Or a flail was used. They were then sieved and winnowed in large, flat bamboo trays.

[335] One day fully half of the men of the village, under the direction of one of the older ones, were working together reroofing a house, while the young people went back and forth with their loads of fertilizer and empty baskets. However, the chief activity at this time was the preparation of fields into which rice, now several inches high, was transplanted later. Most of the fertilizer was carried to prepared fields, but some to fields not yet wholly cleared of other crops.

On the first of the fourth month I saw the members of our household working together to prepare a field which had been cleared of beans and rape. Two young men, one a member of the household, a relative who was something of a hired man, and one from another household, were plowing, the plows being drawn by water buffalo. The second nephew together with his wife formed one "team" and the son and his wife another to bring up water from the pond, along which this long field stretched, and pour it onto the field. They had attached ropes with sticks in them to the handles and to a point near the bottom of each bucket on each side, to hold by, so that they might together swing

[306]

the bucket (regularly used for carrying water) 241 down into the pond, up and over the bank (fig. 15, *e*). They got into a very nice rhythm. I had seen the second nephew turning a bean mill once, but aside from this that was the only real work I had seen either of these men do. The nephew seemed to be ashamed of it, too, for he stopped abruptly when he thought I was going to take his picture. However, evidently today everyone had to work. A younger boy was fishing and the other children playing nearby, so that it was quite a family party.

By the beginning of the fourth month 243 (May 15, 1942) rice plants were ready for transplanting. Fields nearly to Lung-li, which 574 is at a lower altitude, had already had plants set out in them (fig. 15, *a*). On the fourth of the month of the year I lived with them (May 18, 1942) our household again was first. They made quite an occasion of setting out the plants in a large square field, beyond the low hills and right beside a good-sized Chung-chia village. Very early the women of the family, with the exception of the old man's two wives, together with the women and girls of other households, bundled together the rice plants from one of the seed beds and piled them into their carrying baskets (fig. 16, *e*) — the same ones which had been used earlier to carry straw and manure. Two men were plowing and two harrowing in the flooded field when the long line of women approached and began tossing the bundles into the field. Before the plowing and harrowing were entirely finished the setting out of plants had begun. With Mo-mei setting the pace, each woman took a strip the width of the field, then turned and worked the length of it. They went home for a long lunch period about two o'clock. Afterward not all of them returned, but the work was finished well before dark. The usual good meal, featuring bean curd, was served. The family nonchalantly appropriated my bowls and chopsticks to use with theirs.

They were now in the midst of the busiest 241 season of the year, for the harvest of wheat and its accompanying crops of broad beans, rape, and peas came just when the rice was ready for transplanting. One day I helped a widow (the chief shamaness of the village)

241 with her two grandchildren, a boy of twelve and a girl of ten, who were reaping wheat. Some had been taken from the field. Now she was cutting the stalks about four inches from the ground. I helped the children lay the stalks together so that a number of heads could be struck off together, and to pick up what fell to the ground. At noon the boy went home with a load of wheat heads and returned with a basket of rice mixed with wheat, a dish of pickled green vegetable, and the necessary bowls and chopsticks. The women led us to a spring on the floor of the valley where we could get cold water to drink with our meal. I doubted the wisdom of drinking from a spring so near newly fertilized rice fields, but it was a very hot day. We brought a bowl of water back to the field so that the woman could sharpen her sickle on a small piece of stone she carried in a bamboo holder. We worked until well after sunset.

Although there was a good breeze, these days were very hot and everyone hoped for rain so that the fields could have a good flooding. Some of the fields from which the crops had been harvested were planted to maize and long beans. More fields which had crops in them were later planted to rice. By the middle of the fourth month (end of May, 1942) some former wheat fields were already planted to maize and soy beans, well up and requiring cultivation. Others were being plowed as they were cleared. In general, all fields that could be sufficiently flooded were given over to rice, the rest to maize, beans, tobacco, red chillies, and millet.

241
462 After the day in which sixteen women worked together to set out plants in the one large field, there were a few other occasions when a large group worked in the same field or adjacent ones (fig. 15, *a*). But in general women from several small households worked together in bundling up the rice plants (one man worked in one group), reaping wheat, transplanting, and so on, or each family took care of its own fields. While younger women were busy in the fields the older women in our household beat out pulse, flailed wheat and winnowed it, sunned rice, and kept an eye on the children when they were not playing away from home.

312
241
About this time, when the people had just about given up hope of rain in time for preparing the fields and transplanting rice, the rain came in a flood. (Beginning of June) It poured one whole night and there were hard showers and storms on the next day. It rained for two nights following, also. This was just the kind of a rain needed to make upland fields ready for plowing and harrowing and to flood the lower ones. Our family had spent three days just before this in a second bout of bucketing water from the pond into the large field. Again men of the family and related households plowed and men and women formed teams for lifting water. Others were transplanting rice into fields of deep mud with no water on top. It was a time of many activities – harvesting, sunning, flailing, and winnowing of wheat, bringing in plants of rape, beans and peas. Both wheat and rape featured the markets in Lung-li and Kou-ch'ang. Rape is used to make the oil burned in lamps.

Another rain a week later lasted two days. I went to Lung-li to market on the first day and had the exciting experience of racing the storm home successfully. The hard rain of this day and night filled the rice fields and flooded even some that were rather well upland. The buffalo bullfighting meadow became a little pond. Almost all of the wheat and its accompanying crops (literally that, for they were planted together in various combinations) were in before this hard rain, and only a few wheat fields had straw still standing in them. Most of them had been made ready for other crops. Also, nearly all the seed beds had been stripped of their fine stand of rice plants and made into fields with even rows, like the others. It was almost time for the village to take a little breathing spell.

The men worked as steadily as the women, for the fields for rice had to be plowed and harrowed at least twice, some three times — after the wheat was harvested, when they were flooded, and again just before the plants were set out. It was common to see men plowing or harrowing at one end of a field, or in an adjacent one, just before the women moved in with their bundles of plants. I saw women carrying the plow and harrow to the field, but only two harrowing. I saw a few men bun-

312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the fields, but no men setting out plants.

241 243 I once tried my hand at helping and did fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they [164] were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 243 312 By the end of the first week of the fifth month (end of June) the transplanting of rice was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

used the mattock, and as they worked they 312
fertilized the plants with night soil and wood 241
ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family
also used some lime mixed with manure, which 243
was left over from several loads carried to
another village eighteen *li*[*] away. Toward the
end of the fifth month several young men
had taken out the pile in the room back of
the kitchen in the new house and mixed it
with manure, after which some of the village
girls and women of our household carried it.
It must have been promised for a certain day,
for the trip was made in a drenching rain
which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei,
the oldest daughter, was a member of this
group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken 243
toward the transplanting of rice in different 462
localities and among different people in one
locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near
Kunming men bundled up the plants and
transported them, while only women were
allowed to set them out. I was told that this
was a custom borrowed from the non-Chinese
there, who believed that the women insured
fertility. Here the women did all of
it, with only a few men helping with either
bundling or setting out. In both cases the
men did the plowing and most of the harrowing.
In the one Chinese family in this village
and those between the valley and Lüng-li I
saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all
the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used
up, so now and then the women went to get
more. Often it was much mixed with dried
grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of
these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass
for the animals, which were kept in the stables,
were brought in. Women and children took
water buffalo out once or twice a day for a
soaking in the large pond and for feeding
upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultivation
was the main task for all women, who
took time out only to nurse a boil or catch
up on washing and mending. The men went
to market a great deal, most of them carrying
wood in one form or another — planks, pieces
of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles.
They seemed able, with what they could find 241

---

[*] A measure of length reckoned at 360 paces or

to sell from time to time, just to get through 241 nicely until rice harvest, for the one of the year before had been poor. One day a large [283] bundle of mallow was brought in and the fiber stripped off to use in bundling up bunches of grass. These fibers are tough and strong and used a great deal in place of rope.

It was after the middle of the seventh month 374 (end of August) that I returned from a trip to Kweiyang, and just about two weeks before the rice harvest. During these weeks the chief occupation of both men and women was again the bringing in of fuel — grass, fern, weeds, and green bushes. They piled the lofts full of them. All of these made a hot fire but much smoke, and burned quickly.

Rice harvest began about the first of the 243 eighth month (middle of September) and was the chief occupation of both men and 512 women, with few exceptions. The women did most of the cutting of the plants, taking bunch after bunch in the left hand and cutting the stalks as near the ground as possible with the sharp sickle in the right. Sometimes the roots were exposed and had to be avoided. They could take as many as eight or nine in this way at one time, and lay them in rows for the beaters to take up. One or more large, square wooden boxes were set up in the field and men and women took up the bundles and beat the grain out into the box. These boxes were pushed about the field on wooden runners (the so-called summer-sled) as the cut grain in one section was beaten out and the women had gone to make it ready in another part of the field. If the field were a large one, as many as twenty would be cutting together; for the smallest two could take care of the cutting. One or more took up the bundles from which the grain had been beaten out and, making them into stacks, set them up about the field. They had a very neat and quick way of tying them. One or more filled baskets from the grain in the boxes and carried them two at a time by means of the carrying pole to the houses or to mats on the threshing floors. Some sheaves were also carried in and stored in the houses or hung up on the rafters. Twice during the day, toward the end of the morning and afternoon periods

about 1890 feet (.36 mile).

243 of work, they all stopped and rested. Some
512 lay down and slept on the ground; some older women laid stacks down on the ground and sat on them to talk and smoke; the younger women and girls got out their embroidery and worked on it. For about two hours at noon they went home to eat their lunch.

243 Women and children were also busy at
252 home spreading out the grain on the mats, sweeping out bits of stalk, and so on, spreading it again so that it could all get the sun, carrying it in again at night in the baskets, and rolling up and stacking the mats. Some of it was bought by dealers who made a price on uncut grain, some carried to market and sold there. There were two kinds of rice — *ta mi*[4] and *lo mi*.[5] In some cases a row or two of *lo mi* was planted on the edge of fields of other rice; in some cases the whole field was of it only. It brought a better price than the other and was used for the New Year cakes, at the festival of Tuan Yang, for the colored balls at Hsiao Mang, and for several other festivals. A fine dish of fat pork slices rolled in parched *lo mi* was often served at special meals.

243 When *lo mi* was planted in a field with other rice it was not cut with it, but later the stalks were carefully cut with a small knife blade set into one side of a wooden holder, and the sheaves were brought in and stored first in the hall below and then in the loft. Early in the morning we would form a sort of relay team, of which the old lady in the hall below saw to it that they were tied securely, several children and I carried them up the ladder, one boy stood on a bench and received them as they were handed up, then tossed them onto the platform above the main hall, whose ceiling is higher than that of the side rooms, and a woman stacked the sheaves there. At one time the main hall, a half *chien* room adjoining, and one *chien* of the loft were full of grain beaten out and waiting to be sunned dry. In time this all got sunned, sent to market, or stored in a granary or another part of the loft.

---

[4] Ordinary rice.

[5] Glutinous variety, white or black.

[34a]

241 Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more
fuel, or grass for the animals. The water
231 buffalo were taken out night and morning
245 for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.* Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

243 The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice from sheaves were

---

*One-tenth of a tou (see note 7, p. 35), or 31.6 cubic inches.

flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season 243
were made, stuffed with boiled beans and [252]
herbs. Bean curd was also made.

While the harvest was still incomplete they 241
began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more.

The weather during the tenth month (No- 241
vember) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, 512
misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain.

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"[7] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest 527
and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the

---

[7] These weigh twenty-four *chin* ([illegible] pounds), or 32 pounds.

year began. During this period there was 527
time for weddings, visits to other villages to
"drink wine," and celebrate such events as
tso chia,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was
held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the
tenth of the eighth month (September 19),
another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the
ninth month (October 19). A bride went 521
from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth 574
month (November 13). On the third of the
tenth month (November 10) several girls 584
went to the village into which a girl from
Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before,
to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her
new home. A girl was married into the village
on the fifth of the eleventh month (December
12) and the old man's son took a second
wife on the twenty-third of the second
month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the 241
slackest season of the year, there was still
much to be done in the way of cultivation of 252
fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The tech- 241
nique of farming was identical with that of 462
Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

---

[8] See p. 51, note 2.

[9] See pp. 76 ff.

241 with the exception of the fact that the Miao
462 women seemed to do a greater proportion of the out-of-door work. That is, in a well-to-do Miao household the women worked just as hard as those in the poorer ones, but in a well-to-do Chinese family the women spent most of their time at home. The work of women will be discussed more in detail under Division of Labor.

241 The implements used were as follows: for breaking up and cultivation of the ground—
412 plows, harrows, and mattocks. The plow (fig. 13, *d*) had an iron share like two overlapping shingles and one upright piece through the beam. The end of the beam was the handle. The harrow was two beams with iron spikes on the under side and a transverse piece at either end, the whole forming a rectangle with projecting ends. The mattock had a long, wooden handle and a blade of iron about six inches wide at the edge. The harness was a slightly bent wooden beam laid across the neck of the animal with a heavy rope from it under its neck and two light ropes to the implement. As the man plowed or harrowed he guided the animal by another cord attached to one side of the yoke. The plow had to be lifted a little when turning corners. In use the harrow was weighted with a large stone. For reaping, gathering grass, and gathering fuel the sickle was used. It had a short wooden handle and an iron blade, originally with a straight cutting edge and rounded outer edge, but with much sharpening becoming a crescent. The men had a wooden holder of the shape as shown in figure 10 which they fastened with a straw cord about the waist to the small of the back. The handle of the sickle was thrust into the hole in the top of this with the blade up. A little bamboo basket for the whetting stone was worn at the belt in front. For beating out the grain they used a square wooden box, four feet each way and two deep, an upturned stone, a flail, bamboo baskets, and a bamboo mat. The beater took up a bundle of rice and beat out the grain on the inside of the box or against the upturned stone set on the mat. Or the sheaves were laid end to end and flailed. The flail was two lengths of bamboo or sticks fastened to a short piece in such a way that the worker could hold one length in her hands and swing the

241 other under, back, over and down (fig. 16, *d*).
Two worked together sometimes, but not
412 necessarily in rhythm. The woven baskets
were shallow, with handles on the top of the
241 rim through which a carrying pole was thrust
415 and secured by wooden pegs. The bamboo
mats in twilled pattern were as large as sixteen
[285] by nine feet. A two-inch bamboo pole was
fastened to either end to help keep it flat while
in use and then easily rolled up for storage.

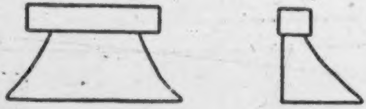


Fig. 10. Wooden holder for sickle, front and side views.

Two types of basket had a great variety of uses. In a loosely woven one fertilizer was carried to the fields and bundles of rice plants taken from seed beds to fields (fig. 16, *e*). In closely woven ones grain and other crops were brought in (fig. 16, *c*, *f*). When grain was to be sunned it was brought out in these baskets to the mats on the threshing floor and at night it was carried back in them. In this case the worker usually used only one at a time and someone had to help her swing it up to one shoulder, where she held it by putting that hand on her hip. She steadied it with the other hand. In them grain and other produce were taken to market.

Bamboo scoops were used to lift the grain from mats to baskets and a piece of wood with one straight side and a long handle to push the grain around so that all might get the sun evenly. The grain was first spread evenly on the mat and the bits of straw, sticks, etc., swept out with the broom of twigs. This was done several times. After a while the grain was all swept to the edges to allow the center to dry thoroughly and then to the center to allow the edges of the mat to dry. After this the mat was folded over the pile until it was possible to get several people together to put the grain into the baskets and
241 carry it to loft or granary. For more careful
cutting of rice straw the women had a knife
412 blade set in one side of a more or less fancy
shaped piece of wood or bamboo. This could

also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark. 241 412

For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, *b*) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, *c*); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make 241 412 463 563

water casks and buckets for carrying or rais- 241
ing water, a man from the same village to 412
make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chi- 463
nese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who 563
moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of [322]
making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability.

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry 415
small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain.

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang- 231
chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un.

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from 462
the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only

462 Only rarely did a man do any of the cooking.
252 Butchering was done by men, but the preservation of meat and the preparation of dishes from meats was usually taken care of by women. They dried beef by placing the pieces on sticks across the opening in the stove from which a large cooking bowl had been removed and keeping a fire going under it. They cured pork and made sausage. Meat was smoked simply by hanging the pieces up over the floor firepit.

462 With the help of an older man now and then, women took full charge of kitchen
241 gardens, from whence came vegetables used by the household for their own food or taken to market, and green stuff for the feeding of animals. They prepared the mash for cattle and ponies as well as the swill for pigs, and fed them. They also did most of the work in other fields after the plowing and harrowing were finished. If the ground was broken up not with the plow but the mattock, they did that, too. And cultivation from the sowing of the seed (the casting of rice into the seed beds excepted), through weeding, fertilizing, and transplanting to reaping was largely the work of women.

They gathered most of the firewood and other fuel, much of the grass for animals and for the raincapes they themselves made, and carried most of the water from springs for household use. They did their share of the cleaning of stables and carrying the straw and manure to the fields. They carried all the night soil from cesspools and applied it as fertilizer. If the pond was low enough in the spring, they got down into the thigh-deep mud and dug for the water chestnut known as *tzu ku*. Men, women, boys, and girls made a picnic of wading waist deep in the pond and "feeling" for fish and large snails, for food.

They bundled up the rice plants in the seed beds, transported them, and set them out. They reaped wheat and its attendant crops, flailed out the grain, winnowed and sunned it, dried the plants of rape, beans and peas, beat out the seeds and pulse. They cut the rice plants, both ordinary rice with the sickle and glutinous rice with a knife, helped to beat it out and transport the grain and straw, sunned, cleaned, winnowed, and hulled the grain, and

462 from the straw of glutinous rice made san-
241 dals.

They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it,
462 stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, sep-
283 arated the strands, and from them made the
386 two grades of thread — one for sewing and
mending and one for weaving into cloth. They
291 gathered and dried nutgalls and from them prepared a dye, by which they dyed white cloth bought in piece in the market an even, almost black blue. They made all the clothing for themselves and their families and their bedding. They wove the straw comforter, too. Girls and younger women made the embroidery on the overpiece, front apron, and turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older women made hemp thread and did the weaving of cloth for the back apron and bands for the baby pad. It was the older women who wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

286 Three types of loom were used. First there was that described in the making of the belt. Second, there was the vertical loom used for the weaving of straw comforters. This had two beams, one high and one near the floor, from which the warp ropes of twisted straw went back and forth. Two of the poles supporting the rafters served as uprights. The weft was similar to the warp, except that straw ends were left sticking out so that the result was smooth on one side and had a nap on the other. The weft was sent through by hand, in and out, over and under successive threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet. The third was used for the weaving of hemp cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of two by fours about eight feet long and three wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides and, a little lower down, across the ends, also one about two feet from one end. The upper pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at each end. Into this frame was set another, lighter one, going into the upper horizontal pieces at the back, but down into the bracing piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace about a foot above the main frame, across the front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights of this second frame, a board was put across for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

was held firm by projecting rods which rested 286
on a board across the frame. From the yarn beam the warp proceeded across the horizontal bar of the lighter frame, through two heddles of the frame variety made of bamboo rods with hemp thread between them, which were suspended from a roller laid across the lighter frame or through holes pierced in it, by straw rope and vine tendrils. They were a little wider than the piece of cloth used in the back apron, and the threads were about a foot long. From the lower ends similar ropes led to the fronts of two pedals. Other ropes of the same kind led from the backs of the pedals to the horizontal brace at the back of the main frame. From the heddles the warp proceeded to a reed, also suspended from the lighter frame, thence to the cloth beam set in slots in uprights in the longitudinal brace of the main frame, its longitudinal pieces and projecting above. The cloth beam was then held firm by straw rope tied around it and the frame behind the upright on one side. There were laze-rods set in just behind the front board.

Shed and countershed were formed by depressing first one pedal and then the other. The weft was shot through by hand, wound on bamboo shuttles of the shape as shown in figure 11. The weft was beaten up with the reed. Most of the warp thread was rolled on the yarn beam, but some extended beyond and lay in a basket. The reed was made of two pieces of wood, between which could be set and fastened a removable frame like that of the heddles, but without eyes in the thread which stretched between. The weaver took hold of two vertical bars as she beat up the weft. The contrivance was suspended by ropes attached to those bars.

Women also cooked the paste and beans 462
and shaped the glutinous rice cakes, distilled
rice wine, ground the beans and made bean 252
curd, including that mixed with pig's blood 249
at the lunar New Year. They helped cut tobacco in the fields, cutting the leaves from the stalk in such a way as to leave a piece of it for a hook by which they fastened it into a rope of straw made as they went. These ropes were festooned across the fronts of the houses to dry, after which it was ready to smoke in their long-stemmed pipes.

462 846 The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended.

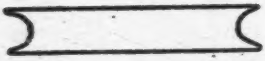


Fig. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

462 Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there.

462 241 [313] Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewod, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the beating out of grain in the field

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
with the carrying out of grain and carrying
241 it in again at night, when it had been sunned
on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste
252 was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 Men worked in large groups to bring the
stone for a building's foundation, transport,
342 bark and trim the logs, and from them make
planks and beams. They fitted them together
412 according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
even to carrying a baby on the back while
855 plowing. They were apt to be more indul-
gent than the mothers, and the children en-
622 joyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of
buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by
the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

412 241 It has already been noted that men and women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai. Kou-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-ing school, and the engineers' corps of the railway being built through the town from Kwangsi to Kweiyang. To it the people of the surrounding contryside, including at least three groups of Miao and the Chung-chia, went to market. It was also the seat of the *hsien* government and contained a middle school, postal and telegraph offices, and a cooperative bank, with all of which the non-Chinese, as well as the Chinese, had some dealings. A few of the more well-to-do families sent one of their boys to the middle school. Cases which could not be settled in the village or by the *lien pao* official, who was also a Chinese, were of necessity brought to the *hsien* court, as well as cases which involved both Miao and Chinese. 443 648 692

The market was held in an open space reserved for it just inside the east gate of the city. There were permanent sheds under which merchants who made the rounds of such markets displayed their stocks of cloth, notions, and articles manufactured elsewhere. Other sections of the grounds were reserved for eggs and poultry, sandal straw, farm implements, brown sugar cakes, fruits and vegetables, dishes and cooking utensils, pigs, tobacco, chillies, food stalls, articles of wood and bamboo, meat, firewood, grain, and the thin strips of sulfur-tipped wood used for carrying fire. The main market for wood was just outside the city gate. 443

People within a radius of perhaps ten miles and including Chinese, Chung-chia, and three, sometimes four, groups of Miao, attended this market to buy and sell. One group of Miao came from the mountains twenty-four miles to the south with charcoal. Each group had a distinctive costume worn by the women. That of Chung-chia women consisted of long, narrow trousers with a woven band of color at the ankles, a knee-length blouse in old Chinese style, a straight apron attached to the collar of the blouse with a silver chain and tied with embroidered strings in the back, and a tight skull cap. The women of one group of Miao wore dark blue trousers to below the knee, a skirt of many pleats of dark blue, bordered with a wide band of white, a blue blouse worn surplice and having a large sailor collar. Their legs were wound in many long strips of blue cloth. About the waist 443 291 they wore a long, woven belt of straw and over the blouse an overpiece of straw. Their abundant hair was made into a large knot in the back. Around it and the head they wound a dark blue cloth turban. These were the charcoal burners. The women of another group who called themselves Lao Hei Miao wore long trousers, two aprons similar to those of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with no embroidering on the front one, a blouse worn surplice, an overpiece of the same type as that of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with much coarser stitches, no color, and no cowries, and a turban of a length of blue cloth wound around the head. 443 291

Kou-ch'ang and Hsin-ch'ang, the market village a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un, were typical market villages with the one main street widening out in the center to form a square. The main shops of the village lined the sides of this square. On market days itinerant merchants set up their stalls under awnings and local people and tribesmen spread their produce on mats on the ground.

The Cowrie Shell Miao took to market grain (rice, wheat, glutinous rice, millet), wood in various forms (planks, bamboo poles, firewood, poles, brushwood), fresh vegetables from gardens and fields, bamboo shoots, water chestnuts, sunflower seeds, nuts, rape seed, dried peas and beans, eggs, poultry, pigs and pork, grass raincapes, straw for sandals, and chaff. In the markets they bought cloth, thread — cotton and silk — salt, sugar, and such things as tobacco, red chillies, and fat pork for rendering out lard if their own supply had run low. The Chung-chia in the vicinity made wide white cloth, dried bean curd cakes, and straw sandals. The local Chinese (i.e., from Ting-shui-pa) sold straw sandals, tea, and hemp. The Cowrie Shell Miao made hemp cloth only for special uses of their own and straw sandals only for their own use. They had no extra hemp to sell, but did take to market sheaves of glutinous rice straw. 443 439

There were no shops whatever in the village. Now and then a peddlar of crockery, vegetable oil, charcoal, or notions came through the village. The transaction then was usually one of barter, the women paying in rice and eggs. At other times Chinese money and measurements were used. The silver orna-

443 439 ments worn by the women were bought of a Chinese silversmith in a certain village and had to be paid for in silver dollars. Beads and embroidered strips were also bought of the Chinese.

428 Inheritance. The family was the social unit. Descent was through males and the oldest living male was the head of the family. Non-personal property belonged to the family as a whole and even clothing and ornaments might be passed around, especially when one or more represented the family on some social occasion. Then, in order to do honor to the family and to their hosts, they made a display of the family wealth. A woman owned the

428 ornaments she bought or had given her and the embroidery she made. She gave most of her ornaments to her daughters.

The possessions of the family as a whole were in land and animals. After the death of both parents the sons usually divided up the property, but all continued to work together in the cultivation of rice and the chief winter crops, leaving the care of gardens to the women of each household. If there were several married sons in a family, some had homes of their own, but they still gave mutual help. Some families had fairly extensive holdings in various directions from the village, but almost entirely in this one valley.

[42b]

INSTITUTIONS

THE daily tasks of living furnished the framework for group activities within the family and between families. Such activities included those connected with the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the cleaning of stables and the transportation of fertilizer, fishing and digging for water chestnuts, going to the mountains for firewood, and to market to sell and buy, and the construction and repair of a house, for these in which members of several households worked together were greatly enjoyed in the doing and always followed by a special meal furnished by the owners of the house, stable, or fields worked upon that day. When they went to market they waited until several had their loads ready before starting off. They also returned in groups and stopped to rest and talk at a point about half way, where they could drink from a spring or in a wayside teahouse. 591

When a household was of the extended family type living in a connected group of buildings, they furnished among themselves a good deal of social life, for men and women worked together or the women in their group, children played together, and together they gathered around the firepits to eat, talk, and smoke. On rainy days the women also came together to sew, make thread, and mend. Even when the buildings were more separate, the homes tended to be grouped so that the households mingled freely and helped one another at work or in the entertainment of guests. A group of girls were often seen in the home of one of them embroidering, chatting very gayly over designs and plans, smoking, and laughing. The village was not extensive and there was constant opportunity to meet and talk, with much teasing and laughter. Women carried leaves of tobacco in the folds of their turbans, men in rolls in little metal boxes; pipes and tobacco were shared in a group. 592

Calendric feasts afforded the opportunity for both interfamily and intervillage activities. The festivals of the lunar New Year, Ch'ing Ming, and San Yüeh San, as well as lesser festivals such as Tuan Yang and Hsiao Mang, were accompanied by offerings to the house 796 591 god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born. 796 571

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders. 571

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes. 596

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village 621 [563]

[436]

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head
of groups of closely related families, known
as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai,
and hence three elders, who formed the village
council. Disputes within the family were
settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao*
within the *pao*. Disputes within the village
between members of different *pao* were ordinarily
621 settled by the three elders. If, however,
they were unable to effect a settlement, the
648 litigants had the right to carry their dispute
to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1]
who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese
court in the *hsien* city.

276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to
the village for the second period of residence,
689 the first of February, 1942, I found that the
648 old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in
123 prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone
to collect the price of some rice sold to two
families in the city. At the second house he
had been arrested in an opium raid and held
on the charge of opium smoking. On the
sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on
his behalf and found that he had been sent
to the local Health Station for observation.
The man in charge there was called in. He
said Cheng-hsiang would be released and
cleared of the charge at the expiration of the
required period of observation. On the afternoon
of the eighth he was allowed to go home
for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released
and cleared of the charge.

661 This same young man went during the last
week in June to a place to the east to sell some
648 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed
123 by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried
off. His companion, who had carried the
pork, escaped and went into hiding for a
while. They could find out nothing about
Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him,
saying that he was held at the point where
the motor road forked, one fork going to
Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the
hsien magistrate for him, as they hesitated to
go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this
case that my presence might obtain a better
reception there for them, and was told to
have them send in an official statement, which

---

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

[44a]

661 648 123 they did. But before anything could be done he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his captors took him to Hunan. He was well treated and not forced to become a soldier, but served the commanding officer as a secretary. He was later released. I like to think that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the provincial government had something to do with his release before the soldiers were due to return to Kweichow. It was not until after the rice harvest that his family sent him traveling expenses so that he might come home. He arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

648 123 685 661 On the eighteenth of November I was asked to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again. This time a relative by the name of T'ang was being detained on complaint of some Chinese. This man owned a wooded slope. The Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this man to make his wood into charcoal for them. No agreement was made, but they had him arrested to be held until he could produce fifty thousand *chin*,[*] more than sixty-six thousand pounds. What they wanted me to do was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate the matter quickly so that the man could be released. This I did. But when the *hsien* magistrate said he could be released if two would go surety for him, and they asked me to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had never seen the man and could not find out what it meant to be a guarantor under such circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live they continued to ask me to help them. Upon one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien* magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of stealing logs from his house while only his wife and children were at home. The Chinese said that he had sold them the logs before felling the trees on a hillside he owned and that they were only taking what already belonged to them. I was asked to urge the magistrate to investigate the matter before the Chinese should have time to convert the

---

[*] One and one-third pounds.

timber into agricultural implements, and did 648
so. I have never found out what the truth of 123
the matter was, but the Miao lost his case
because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses 685
had not told the truth at other points. 661

Another case was that of a Miao who had
become so angry at his wife that he had her
jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released 684
so that her child need not be born in [844]
prison. The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a 686
house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set.

These, of course, were only a few of the 621
disputes which arose in the village or among 671
the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie 592
Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the
hsien city. Just inside the walls were a few 265
tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen 265
who had come in to market.

Associations. As far as I could determine, 575
the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations.

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell 793
Miao had no formally organized religious
communities. They did, however, have re- 791
ligious specialists, including priests. These 771
were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child.

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I 778
saw something which the head of our family
told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li post- 788
master, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine

778 between “verses.” There was an inscription
on the roof, and others were about the opening,
788 all in Chinese. Inside were three large heads made of wood, of which one looked rather like a Buddha, one a fierce god with moustaches, and one just stern and calm. This last was in the center and had a red canopy like a tent around it. There were also two fierce-looking smaller figures, one on each side. There was a square block of wood inside the shrine, as well. On top were long pheasant tail feathers; at some of the houses they added more. Beside the feathers there was a bag of rice, into which a small measure of rice was put by someone in each household. At the left of the entrance, looking out, was a red bag containing incense sticks. Some lighted ones were stuck in before the entrance. At some houses they added these, also, and at least one household gave him a dollar. At the right of the entrance was suspended from the roof a ring of iron rope with some iron disks on it, and a dagger which stuck into the floor of the shrine. This ring was rather like that shaken by Taoist priests as they chanted. Below and in front hung a row of cloth strips with inscriptions on them and a polished bull’s horn – not a water buffalo horn but much smaller. In front, across the shrine and hanging below it, was a cord with hemp strings tied to it at intervals.

I saw the same sort of a shrine on Lung-li streets at New Year’s time. However, there it was more dilapidated and had only two pheasant feathers, the one middle head, the bag of incense sticks, the row of cloth strips, and the cord with hempen strings. The bag for rice lay on the ground behind it. The

---

[*] The soul, the spiritual part of man that ascends to heaven.

778 two priests were not the same, but the chant
was the same and they had the same bored
788 air. In both cases I believe they were saying
prayers for the good fortune of the house and
at the same time receiving a little rice as a
fee.

346 778 **Ritual Structures.** The village contained no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

776 **Deities.** Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,[3] was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,[4] remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

---

[4] The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

Childbirth. After a girl was married she returned to her parents' home. There she stayed, except for short periods in her husband's home during the busy seasons and at feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. Sometimes, but not always, when a woman was in labor a priest was asked to chant and cast lots in her behalf. This he did in a room adjacent to the one in which the mother was confined, or out-of-doors nearby. There were no midwives. The mother was assisted by other women who had borne children, either from her husband's or a related household. 844 591

The next morning after a child was born the mother might appear with the baby on her back, even in the kitchen where food was being prepared. There was no idea of impurity and she was not required to keep closely at home for a month or forty days, as in the case of Chinese in the vicinity and among some other groups of Miao. She might rest for three or four days, during which other women came to see the baby, but after that she worked as before at even the hardest of labor, with the baby on her back. I am not sure whether she was expected to refrain from certain foods, or not. I offered one mother an orange which she said she could not eat. She gave it to an older son. 846

Announcement Gifts. After the second grandson was born in the family where I was living, the father prepared gifts to send to the village from which his father had migrated, to the household in which an uncle still lived. First in the procession came two men playing the small trumpet. One of them led a black goat. This was a play on words, as the name of a goat (*yang*) has the same sound as the family name (*Yang*) and a word meaning "increase, growth." Then came two men bearing two poles, to which was fastened a whole dead pig, beautifully cleaned and white. After them came two men bearing a similar frame but empty. Last came a man bearing two baskets on a carrying pole. One of the baskets contained red candles and the other a 852

---

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Miao AES

THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS[1]

000

piece of gray cloth with the Chinese character 852 meaning "to inform" on it. The father accompanied this procession. When they got to their destination a feast was held, at which the pig was made into the chief dishes.

Naming of Children. Miss Li said that 553 boys were named after animals and girls "Mei" (daughter, or younger sister) with a number or other designation to indicate their position in the family. I did hear one boy given the Miao word for Rooster as a name; but most of the boys had Chinese names of good meaning. In one family all the five boys except the youngest had names in which one of the two characters was the same for all. When the oldest boy went to middle school in Lung-li he took a "school name." The names I heard for girls were "Mei" with some word of pleasant meaning, such as "Happiness," "Treasure," "Purity."

In the case of boys a "generation name," chosen before the child was born, was also given. He was not called by this name, however, until he had his own wife and family. It was kept in the family records and in those of the *lien pao*. In the village of Yang-chia-sai the oldest generation had the generation name "Heng," with an individual one, the next generation "Cheng," and the third "Tan." But several men of the second oldest generation were still called by their "baby names," and none of the third generation by anything but the familiar names or nicknames. Girls kept their childhood name until they 555 entered their husband's homes permanently, 562 after which they were known as XXX (husband's surname) XX (maiden name) Family; that is, XXX of the XX Family. After her husband died she was known as Widow XX (maiden name) and, if, as almost always happened, in the same village there were several widows with the same maiden name, she was known as Widow XX whose eldest son was named Y. For instance, if a man in Yang-chia-sai, whose surname, of course, was Yang, married a woman from the Wu family, she would be known after she entered his family

511 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife were from the Lo family, she would be known
562 as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Education.** While the child was very tiny the
292 mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long, two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

855 more than two years old. However, then the
mother seldom continued to take it with her,
855 for it could be left with older children in the
857 same part of the village if there was no one
in the family to look after it. Often it was the sole duty of an older child to be responsible for the little one. Thus, in the second nephew's family, while the oldest girl helped her mother away from home, the next one took care of the baby, played with her on her back when the baby wanted to be carried, had to be within call when the baby woke up from her nap if she was put to bed in the house, sang to her until the little one began to sing the most commonly sung songs — farewell to the bride when she left her husband's village, lament for the dead, and the shamaness' song — and amused her in other ways. When this baby was about two and a half years old another sister was born. Then the older one had to play with those of her own age while the same older sister took care of both the baby and herself. The one boy in the family, who was five, either followed his father around or played with the other children. In general, the children in each of the two parts of the village, Shang-sai and Hsia-sai, played together. There were nearly twenty in each group.

857 Much of the play of children was imitative of the activities of their elders. They made little loads to carry on miniature carrying poles, pushed the grain around on the mats, and so on. Children of six and older brought in small loads of garden stuff for the animals or small bundles of faggots and cypress sprays for the fire. But for the most of the day they were free to amuse themselves, fishing, gathering fruits, berries, or nuts in the village or nearby, or playing games. Certain of their games and activities were seasonal. In the fall boys played a game in which one boy tried to pull a stone out of a knot in a thong, with his own thong and stone. In the spring they made and whipped wooden tops. When the boys were playing with thongs and stones the girls were plaiting iris leaves and rushes into overpieces like the embroidered ones, pushing the pith out of plants to make neck loops and bracelets, and making pendant earrings of fern crosiers. I have also seen boys and girls together in a game like "Hawk and Chickens."

When they were a little older they watched 857
animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches.

Children were indulged as far as the family 862
could afford to do so. The choicest bits were
often given them. Mothers brought back little 865
packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Ssu-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that.

Only a few of the boys, and almost never 872
a girl, went to the school less than half a
mile away, and then only for a few years 177
(fig. 18, *d*). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao

are farmers. In the family in which I lived 872
the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had
gone through middle school in Kweiyang. 177
The nephew's eldest son was then in the
Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man
and the nephew have been the teacher in
the local school. The son had considerable
business to do for the family.

On three occasions when the moon was 857
full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the
Chinese month — children ran and shouted 517
until they were tired out. Once this was at
the temple while the Huang and Su families
were holding the annual family feast. Twice
it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the
Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as
it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night
someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well
into the night, the children were shouting and
the young folks laughing and talking. On two [535]
other nights when it was very clear and the
moon bright, though not full, the young men
played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*) and the girls
danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all
seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This
took place at the point where the men made a
sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San.
They told me they would have danced out of
doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral
had there been a moon, but it came at the
dark of the moon.

Youth. Young people grew up much less 883
hedged about with conventions than were the
Chinese of the locality. They worked and 836
played together, as in the cleaning of stables,
fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New
Year holiday. At that time girls sat about
two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo
bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along
the southern edge of the wood. There they
embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as
they entertained young men from other Cowrie
Shell Miao villages. A group of women with
their children sat about the third fire, but did
not interfere with the teasing, snatching of
turbans and ornaments, and chasing which
[496] went on. During this period boys from other
villages stayed all night in the homes of this
village, and a group went to market together.
If there was sexual promiscuity at this time,
it was not practised openly.

883 836 It might have been of the sort that existed in An-lung Hsien. There between the time of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

883 THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

836 For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
539 If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 535 533 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an evening after work — at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was [50a]
also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

534 pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

533 534 584 They also made tunes on leaves and were said to be able to send messages in this way. Among other Miao this was courting music, accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

584 Betrothal. Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young people probably were acquainted.

585 Wedding (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food, men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

On the day after the groom's arrival the bride and her attendants spent much time getting dressed. The longest part of the time was consumed in the arrangement of the turban, done by women of a closely related household. Meanwhile a feast was being prepared by men and women of the bride's family. It was served as soon as the girls — in one case seven, in the other nine — were ready. Indeed, they were urged to hurry up, as it was getting late. Tables were set in the court before the house. There the bride and her attendants sat at the first two tables and other women guests at the others. The groom and his attendants ate around one of the floor fires in the main room of the house. At one feast I attended, in addition to wine and rice, the dishes served were of various vegetables in season with pork, glutinous rice with sugar syrup, strips of very fat fresh roast pork, chicken, pork alone, fresh and dried bean curd.

While they were eating the loads of food and clothing were being prepared. The bride and her attendants got up from the table to supervise this. In one case the food consisted of a quarter of beef and a bushel of rice, in another of a large piece of pork, a bushel of rice, a jar of wine, and some cured meat. When they started out a woman from the bride's family ran after them and cut off a piece of the meat, which she brought back, laughing. The procession followed a definite order: the groom and his attendants, the men bearing the food, the men bearing the baskets containing the girls' everyday clothing and umbrellas, the bride and her attendants, all in single file. It was a gay and colorful one.

After the girls left the guests remained at the bride's home, feasting and drinking wine until they got quite happy and noisy. The object in drinking wine was partly to induce this happy state. Once when a visitor from Yang-niu-ts'un was in Yang-chia-sai I was invited with her to several houses in turn for a good meal. It was not considered necessary to eat much at every house, but the visitor, a very jolly woman, said I should have drunk more so that I could talk more.

---

*Literally, "drink wine," another pronunciation of *Tso chia.*

*This means a setting up the new household.

The bridal party spent that afternoon getting to the groom's village. 585 At the village they played and sang all night. The next day the bride's party was feasted by his relatives. On one occasion I saw, feasting took place about noon. The bride's party sat on two rows of benches facing one another on one of the threshing floors. The food was set in bowls on planks between them by women of a related household.

On the third day, after another night of singing and playing the *lu sheng*, the bride and her attendants returned to her village, accompanied by the groom, who brought gifts of meat and rice and spent the night there. When the bride and her attendants left the groom's village to return, the women of the village accompanied them, some stopping at the entrance to the village and some going a little way. At a point where the bride and her attendants were about to disappear from view they stopped and sang a song antiphonally with the other groups. Then they went on and the nearer group rushed after them to watch them out of sight. When they left they were still in ceremonial array, except for plainer blouses. They reached home dead tired and slept from the time of their arrival until the next day.

Tso Chia. After a girl was married she re- 591
turned at once to her parents' home, where 852
she stayed, except for short periods in her hus-
band's home, during the busy seasons and at 593
feasts, until she was pregnant. Before the child was born she went to live in his home permanently. When the first child was twenty-two days old girls from the mother's village were invited to "drink wine" in honor of the event. They called this "*tso k'ai.*"[2] Some said it was the same as "*tso chia.*"[3] Others said that it was the same as "*ch'ih chiu*" or "*tso chieh*"[4] — a time of rejoicing, calling, of course, for wine in abundance. Among the local Chungchia this was a combination of "*man yüeh*"[5] and the setting up of the permanent household in the groom's home. The bride's village sent with the guests at this feast among the Chungchia a red cupboard and clothing.

---

[4] This means to drink wine, or to attend a feast.

[5] The first month feast — The feast also given by the Chinese when a baby is a month old.

593 From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

766 **Death and Burial.** When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

757 When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

764
535 The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

---

*A rectangle of brown "grass paper" with a de-

764 when the man of fifty-odd died, but was told they danced for him. A man of about the 535 same age died in Lo-ying, another Cowrie Shell Miao village near Yang-niu-ts'un. For him they danced two nights. A tripod was set up before a house in Yang-niu-ts'un in which lived a woman whose maiden name was Lo and who had come from that village.

764 The first funeral I saw was that of the oldest inhabitant of the village of Yang-chia-sai, a woman of eighty-four. She was related to practically everyone in the whole village and had relatives in other villages, as well. Moreover, she was the only one of her generation left in the village. Two nephews were with the aviation corps of the army, stationed in Kunming. She died on the twenty-third of the first month. I knew nothing about it until I heard the sound of drumming the next day and saw before the house of nearly every family in the village a tripod formed of carrying poles or other poles of the same length, tied together near the top. A wicker scoop rested on top of them, in which was a spray of thorn tied with rushes, a pair of chopsticks, and two bowls, one containing a cooked green vegetable and one cooked rice.

I followed the sound of the drum and found in the house in which the old lady's widowed daughter-in-law lived the following things: In the central room, near the right side as one faced the door and with its foot toward the door, was a coffin, raised a little from the floor. This was of the Chinese type and of wood of the proper thickness. The lid of the coffin was reversed. On it at the upper end was the body of the little, old lady, dressed in her best — new, high Chinese shoes, two pair of new trousers, the short pleated skirt worn by a bride and her attendants, the two aprons, three blouses, the outer one of orange silk, the overpiece, and her best turban with embroidered scarf. On the right side of her body at the waist was a large bunch of tobacco leaves. One of the local priests, who in this case, however, was acting in his capacity as a nephew, was kneeling at the foot of the coffin burning spirit money.[6] This he lighted in the flame of one of two red candles,

---

sign cut in it, used only for ritual purposes.

stuck with lighted incense sticks in a measure of rice on the foot of the coffin. Beside the head of the coffin, on its left, was a small table, on which were a jar of wine, a big bowl, and two bamboo tubes. The most skillful and oldest priest of the village, wearing the yellow robe and a large bamboo rainhat, holding in his left arm a chicken and in his right hand a tube of bamboo, was standing by the table chanting. At his waist hung a sword in a wooden sheath. Before him around a fire sat several other men.

In the front room to the right was a cylindrical drum, nearly five feet long and two in diameter, made of wood, with oxhide ends. It had an iron ring fastened to each side. It was so suspended by a withe of bamboo tied to a beam across the room below the rafters that one end rested on the floor at the window and the other was at the height of a man's waist. Above the drum on the beam was suspended an ox's shin bone. Over the beam on one side were three sheaves of rice and on the other side two. A second priest in yellow robe (not from this village) stood before the drum with two sticks in his hand. Other men and boys sat on a bench in the corner of this room. In the front room on the other side sat several women and their children about a floor fire.

As the priest chanted a male relative from another village who sat in the side room with the drum plaited a bamboo basket. At times the priest beat the drum. After a while three of the older women, two daughters and the daughter-in-law, went out and knelt beside the coffin, singing the lament, every line of which ends in sobs. As they sang the priest killed the chicken with the sword at his side and the drum was rolled. This was the ritual of "opening the way." While the priest was chanting, a male relative brought in a rice steamer and put lengths of straw, pieces of bean curd, and a measure of rice into it. He set it on the foot of the coffin. Another man put a large bowl of water on the tripod over the fire and set the steamer in it. After the priest had killed the chicken he stripped off its feathers and the head together, and gave the body to a man, who took it into the yard and cleaned it, then put it into the bowl under the steamer. The priest cut the two lengths of bamboo lengthwise with the sword and cast lots with one pair. The other pair he laid across the top of the steamer.

A second, younger man put on the robe and chanted, being prompted, I thought, by the old priest, who now sat in the circle about the fire. As he chanted he poured wine from the bowl into the jar. Then a third man put on the robe and chanted as he dripped wine from the bowl onto the floor at the head of the coffin. By this time the bamboo basket was plaited. A man put cooked rice and bean curd into it. He shredded the meat of the chicken. Still a fourth man put on the robe and chanted. As he did so he dropped bits of the chicken into the basket. The women had gone back to their fire after the chicken was killed. I was invited to eat a meal of rice and bean curd broth with them. Not knowing what was going to happen, I went home. Later I found that the body had been put into the coffin and the coffin sealed, while the women sang the lament again. The next day I saw that the basket with rice, bean curd, and chicken in it, a small, square basket such as they carry lunch in, and the head and feathers of the chicken had been suspended from bamboo poles, stuck in the wall above the head of the coffin at the side of the room.

That first night from dusk until dawn a priest beat the drum and two young men of the village played the *lu sheng*. They stood beside the coffin first facing it, then one in front of the other, and finally facing one another. A few of the young girls of the village stood in the porch and danced.

The morning of the next day I found that two frames had been put up, of which one formed one large and two small arches at the edge of the porch. It was of bamboo covered with branches of cedar and a few paper roses stuck on here and there. In the room another frame formed a small arch to the right of the coffin and a large arch on the left. A solid piece of lattice came down to a table over the foot of the coffin. On the table was placed a red tablet behind a measure of rice covered with white paper. Over the arches inscriptions were written in Chinese and over the coffin on the lattice a single large character. On either side were scrolls with inscriptions on them. In front of the lattice was a

764 square measure of rice with incense sticks in it.

764 535 That night the young girls, even the tiny ones, of the village and those from other villages who had come to the funeral danced around the room in which the coffin stood. Gradually young men playing the *lu sheng* joined them until there were nine. The little girls soon dropped out and went home to bed. The drum and *lu sheng* were played together, occasionally the drum alone. Some of the beats were on the bone. The rhythm was sometimes steady as if for marching; sometimes with several quick beats (usually six), a rest, and then one; sometimes syncopated, with many beats first on the drum and then on the bone. The dancing was a bouncing with bending of the knees, first on one foot and then on the other. The *lu sheng* players also danced and set the rhythm for the girls, who stood very close side by side in groups moving exactly together. The women of our household dressed me in their tribal costume and told me to go, too. I found the steady beat easy to follow, but not the syncopation, and the girls constantly urged me to be more vigorous. My efforts were almost too much for the solemnity of the old man's son, who was one of the *lu sheng* players. This drum and *lu sheng* playing were repeated for the succeeding three nights from dusk until dawn. During the day some of the small boys played on these instruments. All the Cowrie Shell Miao seemed to be musical and able to play, sing, and dance.

764 During the day men wrote appropriate sentiments in black on white paper and pasted them over the red ones on door and window frames. Banners of checked cloth with similar sentiments on white paper pasted to them were presented by guests as they arrived and someone in the family set them up against the front of the house. As groups of relatives from other villages arrived gunpowder charges or firecrackers were set off. Women in the groups knelt beside the coffin and sang the wailing song. On the third day after her death the most important men and women of the village were invited to a feast. I was included. A pig which one group brought had been killed and the dishes were of fat pork cooked in various ways, dry and fresh bean curd,

celery, carrots, and lean pork. With the rice was mixed red beans. The women and a group of young men ate outside, the other men in the house. As they ate some of the women put choice pieces in front of them and at the end of the feast the women of the household gave them leaves in which to wrap them and carry them home. After this feast I saw bowls of feast food placed on the table over the foot of the coffin and the red tablet, bearing the same inscription as that later to be put on the gravestone, and which had been set behind the measure of rice covered with white paper, set on top of it. On the fourth day a similar feast was held, to which I was also invited. Between times I was asked to hold a clinic for villagers and guests. For this feast nearly everyone sat around tables in the court and most of the guests were men. Many firecrackers were set off.

Burial took place on the twenty-eighth. After breakfast, which was about nine-thirty, I got there to find that the coffin had been taken out into the yard and set on two benches. The various frames and the drum had been taken down. Before the procession started two priests in yellow robes sat at a table at the foot of the coffin. On the table were four bowls of wine and four of pork in broth and four sets of chopsticks. One of the priests chanted as he dripped wine from one of the bowls onto the ground. A group of women sang the wailing song, kneeling beside the coffin. The chief mourners wore a strip of white cloth around the head, with long ends hanging down the back. The son's widow had her hair hanging down her back for all the time until the day of the funeral, when she wore the cloth as a turban.

As the procession started gunpowder charges were set off, the two trumpets of different lengths known as the *sola* and *lapa* were played, and the grandson knelt down facing the coffin with bamboo sticks wound in strips of frilled white paper in his hands. Young men from other villages were carrying the coffin at first, but those from this village took it from them with a bit of scuffling and laughter. The procession was made up of musicians; several small boys holding bamboo poles with the gift banners suspended from them; the two priests holding umbrellas; the two chief men mourners, walking bent over and kneeling at every point where a path entered the one they were traversing, while the women sang the lament and gunpowder charges were set off; the bearers with the coffin; men carrying bundles of faggots, a roll made up of the frame which had been in the room wrapped around a piece of matting such as is used on a bed; men carrying the red tablet, and one carrying a chicken. Two of the women carried a roll of rags and one of the cotton from a comforter, wrapped with an old umbrella.

The procession went out of the village by the path to the south, then around it on the east and to a mound with other graves on it, just a little way northeast of the village. The graves already there were those of her husband's mother and his brother and sister-in-law. These graves had been faced with stones and a large stone tablet had been set up before each one. These bore the name of the deceased — married name in the case of the women, surname and given name in the case of the man — the names of the sons and grandsons who had erected them, and the date of erection.

When they reached the mound the boys set up the bamboo poles with banners on them on the mound. The men in the procession built one fire in the grave and burned much spirit money in it. They built a second fire to the right and a third to the left of the grave. These men kept the righthand fire burning briskly, while the women burned in the lefthand one the rags, the frame, and the mat. The nephew cut down a small tree so that the coffin could be moved from the mound into the grave. One of the priests took the chicken and, standing at the head of the grave, slowly waved it over the grave several times. He drew a little blood from the neck of the chicken with the sword hanging at his side and let it drip at the head of the grave. Then he threw the chicken so that it fell just beyond the foot of the grave. It was not dead and was carried home afterward. The bearers moved the coffin into the grave and laid the beam from which it had been sus-

---

*See p. 13.

pended for carrying across the grave, resting on two benches. On the beam they laid a bag with rice in it, two books, and a compass. The local necromancer, a Chinese, took careful reading of the compass and directed that the coffin be moved slightly so as to rest exactly north and south, the foot to the north. The various things were removed. The necromancer took a sickle, said some words, and made menacing gestures with the sickle at the coffin. He also threw clods on it. The chief mourner knelt on the coffin facing its foot. The men pelted him with clods, laughing loudly as they did so. Altogether the funeral seemed to be a mixture of wailing, mostly prescribed, solemn chanting, and festivity. The priest again stood at the head of the grave and chanted, holding the umbrella over himself as he did so. At times he struck the coffin with his free hand.

Men of the family set the jar of wine with a rice bowl over the opening at the head of the coffin and the basket of rice, bean curd and chicken, the square basket, and the head and feathers of the chicken at the foot. Other men were directed to fill in the grave and make a mound over it, sodded at once. In the mound they stuck the old umbrella, handle down, at about where the head of the coffin would be, and a bamboo pole with leaves and white paper streamers they stuck in the center of the mound. At the foot they set the bamboo sticks which the chief mourner had carried and some lighted incense sticks. All the party then went home. There the family served another feast and various priests chanted as they prepared offerings to the spirits of earth, in the same way as at the ritual of opening the way. Those from a distance then returned to their villages. The tripods were taken down on the day of the burial and in front of several houses they set up a pair of water buffalo horns on a millstone, with a spray of thorn and one of rushes between. After the man had died from the kick of a cow[7] a similar arrangement was set up before his house and remained there several months. The grave of the old lady's father-in-law is the main one beyond the buffalo bullfighting meadow. Some of these graves are set exactly north and south, with the foot to the north — or east and west, with the foot to the east.

Another old lady, aged seventy-six, died just after the rice harvest began and in a comparatively poor household. One morning I went to see what the excitement was there and found her body in ordinary clothing lying on a straw bed by the firepit. (When anyone was seriously ill it was their custom to put him or her on a straw pallet on the floor by the fire, or on a bedstead in that room.) I watched them wash the body and dress it. The son washed the head and hands, the son's wife and another daughter-in-law the rest of the body. Then these two women put on the body her new trousers, the pleated skirt, five blouses, of which the outer one was of orange silk with yellow silk sleeves and band about the neck and down the front, a front apron, three overpieces tacked together, and a belt (see fig. 18, *f*). The blouses were folded surplice toward the left, instead of toward the right, as usual. The turban included the embroidered scarf and was put on very carefully. One daughter-in-law made stockings of white cloth for her. Later men's shoes were added. She wore earrings, two bracelets, and three neck loops of silver.

The designs on overpiece, apron, and turban were all different from those used by the Cowrie Shell Miao women when I was in the village. In design and fineness of work the overpiece resembled that worn by the women of another group of Miao in the *hsien* who called themselves Lao Hei Miao. On the apron the design was rows of birds with wings outspread, birds with wings folded, but as if rising, and a sort of animal, all in white. On the scarf appeared the same birds with medallions, not in close rows as now, but spaced. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that I saw being made, but of the back one a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center; the parts of the figure on the inner strip made a complete cross, instead of being four little converging lines. There were several strips with dog tooth design on them instead of a zigzag. The cross stitch designs were very coarse. Those I saw being made were exceedingly fine. The belt was of the same design, but only half as wide. The colors in the overpiece were soft and beautiful, showing that good dyes had been used in the fine thread. That I saw used faded in a very short time.

After she was dressed the son and daughter-in-law laid her on a mat on the other side of the fire, with a pillow of bundles of straw under her head. The coffin, meanwhile, was set in the main room of the house opposite. The body was carried over by four men, while two others held the mat over it. The men washed their hands after carrying the body over and laying it on the reversed coffin lid. The oldest women of the village, together with several other women — the two daughters-in-law, a granddaughter, and a daughter — ten in all, knelt on either side of the coffin and sang the lament. A piece of white paper was put over the face of the corpse. A bundle of tobacco and two cloths were tucked in, as if suspended from the belt. That evening and the next day women came from other villages. One of the principal ones was her daughter. As they entered the village from the wood they began the lament and continued to sing as they knelt by the coffin.

This time the ceremonies of "opening the way," providing food for the soul's journey and encoffining were held the first part of the night, instead of in the afternoon as in the other case, and the drum and *lu sheng* were played for the remainder of the night. There was no bone above the drum in the side room; instead the drum was sometimes struck on the edge. The chief priest this time was the younger man who had burned spirit money at the foot of the coffin for his aunt. The woman's son and nephew knelt and burned the spirit money this time. First a priest beat the drum as the other priest who was to chant took one of the cloths from the woman's belt, wrung it out of the water in a small tub which the daughter-in-law held, and lightly "washed" all her body and clothing. He then tucked the wet cloth back into her belt. Firecrackers were set off outside.

During the chanting a man fashioned straw into a large square and put it down into a water bucket, which he then set in the loft. The priest stunned the chicken by beating its beak with the piece of bamboo he held in his right hand before he killed it. The other priest rolled the drum at this time, and all the women present, more than twenty of them, sang the lament. The daughter-in-law with whom she had lived continued after the others and until she was forced to stop by the other daughter-in-law and led from the room. As a man measured rice from a tray into the cooking vessel, he counted about thirty scoops and then dumped in the rest. The first of the two priests who dripped wine divided the pieces of bamboo to put across the steamer and both threw them on the table as if casting lots. The chief priest told me afterward that the refrain of the chant for "opening the way" — *Tou tseng ou* – meant the destination of the spirit, the "level land of Heaven," in which other Miao groups also believe. The body was also put into the coffin that night and the drum and *lu sheng* were played until dawn. I must confess that, believing the encoffining would not take place until the next day, I went home too soon.

When I got there the next day I saw white paper with inscriptions on it pasted up over the doorways and a white cross of paper on either side of the door frame of each house. A millstone was set on a wooden frame near the house in which the body lay, but without either water buffalo horns or rushes on it. The table was set over the foot of the coffin and on it were placed the red tablet with its inscription, various dishes of food, and the measure of rice with lighted incense sticks in it Her maiden name was Wu. In front of most of the houses of the village was set the tripod with a bamboo scoop on top. Each contained a bowl of rice, chopsticks, bowls of vegetable, mostly soy beans, and various twigs tied with long grass. In one case there was a dry twig, in one a vine, not the thorn alone, as before. That night young men played the drum and *lu sheng* and the girls danced, but not as sedately as before. One man from another village was especially lively and kept teasing the girls.

---

*Prayer paper.

At daylight the next morning I heard the priest chanting. A little later the chanting was accompanied by the drum. When I got up I noticed that the table and the articles on it, the rice sheaves, and the coffin had been taken outside. The son's wife was lamenting beside it. Later that morning the burial took place. The son, wearing a peaked white paper cap and holding the prayer sticks, went first through the wood with the gravediggers. Then the procession, led by four women relatives, was formed. Two of them carried the same objects as in the other case. They were followed by the bearers with the coffin, and several villagers with many children. The procession went out of the village by the path to the south and to the grave site in fields belonging to the family, at the foot of the hills to the west. One of the men carried a bundle of faggots, one woman a mat and some comfortable padding, one clothing and an old umbrella. The women wailed as they walked. The men set off firecrackers and shouted. Two sticks with prayer streamers on them, exactly like the *gohei*[8] I saw in Japan, had been set in the fields on either side of the path into the graves.

At the grave, which was in a row with several others, the men built three fires. The one at the right of the grave, facing out from the hill, they kept burning fiercely. In the one in the grave they burned spirit money before the coffin was set in. The third was to the left of the grave. In it the women burned the padding and rags. After the bearers put the coffin into the grave the priest, wearing the yellow robe and holding an umbrella over himself, squatted at the head of the grave. The refrain of his chant was "*Ha ma lou,*" meaning "Don't come back!" He also slapped the coffin several times. The daughter and some children threw clods on the coffin and into the hole, which the men then filled in. They sodded the mound and stuck the umbrella into it. The mat was carried home.

A good meal was served at breakfast time, before the burial. At noon there was an ordinary one for the women and a better one, including chicken, for the men. Supper was

764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 **Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.** The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily.
757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757
123 I took with me the specifics for the troubles mentioned and these, which a doctor at the Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 123 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the 165 kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at 163 least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages.

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng- 844 hsiang was in labor for her second son, the 788 old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a 791 maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual.

On that same day I saw the oldest and most 788 proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and fac- 793 ing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground.

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

the older man carried a live duck and a bowl 788
of wine, one of the younger men a bag for
rice, and the other a staff with leaves and 793
white paper streamers, and a handful of spirit
money. The older man chanted as before and
kept muttering to himself as he went from
one house to another. They told me this was
called *sao ho hui*.

The activities of the priest in connection with death and burial have already been described. The priest also has a part to play in connection with bullfights (see pp. 76–80).

The ritual which Miss Li saw took place 788
just outside of the village in the presence of
the baby's father. This priest had before him 755
a bowl of rice and one of wine. In his arm 793
he held a live duck. After he had chanted he
set an egg into the bowl of rice, spilled some
of the wine, felt in the earth for "the child's
spirit, or soul," wrapped up a bit of the earth
in a cloth and gave it to the father, who took
it and the duck and went home. The child
died.

Before the taoist priest chanted, a table was set up before the shrine to the house god in the main hall of the house, partly in and partly out of the pile of unhulled rice lying there. Along the front of the table was the festoon of wooden daggers which usually hung above the door of this house. On the table were one of the priest's sacred books, a banner of white paper in a bamboo stick, a measure of rice with incense sticks in it, several bowls, and some bamboo lots. I had been invited to have supper with them because I had been helping them cut rice that day. While we were waiting for supper to be prepared in the home of the son, next door, we sat in the front side room in which the wife of the head of the house lay on a pallet of straw by the fire. The priest showed me three books from a bagful which he had brought with him. One contained his chants, one charts of the face with points marked on it, and the third explanations of the meaning of the dragon and other sacred things. Before he chanted again he took down a book which he had laid on the woven bamboo shelf above the fire, and placed it on the table. The three books I had been examining he put where the first book had been.

This man was dressed in a pair of loose khaki trousers and an old jersey. As he sang

788 or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his
793 right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house
788 where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one
755 of these priests was called in on behalf of
793 the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

791 **The Priestess, or Shamaness.** (In Miao, "*mu la*" or "*mo wa*.") There were three
788 women in the village who were able to go into
755 a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl — chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

---

*Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

791 788 755 guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that in his own village he received nothing for his services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*[9] to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them. but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

her feet never leaving the floor. She began her 788
song, which was interrupted by speaking and
action. As she sang, her hands assumed vari- 755
ous positions: clasped in her lap close to her
body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly 791
out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door — a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks — knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable. 788 755 791

Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave santonine and calomel. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round, white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side, 788 and the frame was taken away. She struck the hatchet down into the firepit between the 755 piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice to the right ear, once to the left, again to the 791 right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room. This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

[illegible] See p. 52.

788 755 791 blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She took the bowl in her left hand and poured out some of the water. A bowl of rice was set before her. She poured out a little more of the water, then the remainder, and turned the bowl upside down beside the bowl of rice. The piece of pork was laid between the rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was taken away and the scythe put into her right hand. A small wooden tub with water in it was set near her left hand. She whetted the scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as before, and washed her hands in the tub. A duck's egg was given her, which she set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe five times toward the door. (We had been warned to move just in time.) She put a piece of blazing charcoal into the tub of water, which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from the fire to the door of the house. Again the tub and scythe were brought and used as before. Another egg was given her and set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire was taken to the door — a bundle of blazing spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into her right hand, and, as she swung it back and forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly upside down on the floor at her right the ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,[10] a baby of a year and a half, who had dysentry. Two days before the mother had told me he had a fever. I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin. Then I learned that he had dysentery, and gave her bismuth for him. They told me later that he had not taken it. I do not know whether that meant that he would not take it — it is hard for a child to take, being a powder that does not dissolve easily in water — or whether they did not give it. He developed meningitis and died during the night after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court before the old house water buffalo horns set upright on the stones, with rushes under them. I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

During the morning I saw a spray of thorn 788
tied with rushes lying at the corner of the
stable before the new house. Later, and this 755
must have been part of the ceremony, though 791
I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's
mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an
open space before the house foundation in
front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it
burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in
the ground and went back to the old house.

[63a]

This was like carrying a bundle of burning 788
straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the
door and calling the soul to return. When I 755
heard the singing I went into the court and
the child's grandmother told me to go in. I 791
thought the old man's second wife protested
later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the
following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the
ceremony.

[636]

DETAILS OF CEREMONY (Speaking and song all in Miao)

788

Motion of hands	Motion of feet	Singing, and so on
Hanging beside thighs, before bench	Jumping together stiffly, toes not leaving floor	Singing
Right hand raised	" " "	"
Together before knees	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Before knees, but not together	"	Whistle 1 note, singing
On ground twice, fore and middle fingers touching, others under	" "	" " " " Whistle 1 note
Clap once	"	Speaking, whistle, singing
On ground as before	"	Whistle
Hanging, right raised at times	"	Singing
Clap once	"	Speaking
" "	"	Whistle
Taking up pinches of ashes and putting them to right, left, right, left ear	Quiet	Singing, interrupted by two whistles
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Cupped, put down and up as if picking up something	Quiet	" Whistle, singing
Repeat; clasped at knees	Quiet	" "
Clap; raise right hand	Jumping	" "
Repeat; cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "

(From this point on the head was kept turning from side to side.)

Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Repeat cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
Hanging beside thighs; head still	Jumping	Singing
Clap; repeat; clasped on lap	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, whistle
Clasped	Quiet	" "
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing
Hanging by thighs; clap	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clasped; left raised; clasped	"	"
Left raised; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Clap once	Quiet	Long whistle
Brought together; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Quiet
Hand on ground, as above; head turning	Quiet	Speaking
Clap	"	Whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
On ground, as above	Quiet	Whistle, speaking
Clap once	"	Singing

[63c]

Hanging by thighs; clap once	Quiet	Singing, speaking
R. raised; clasped; hanging by thighs	"	Singing
Clap once; clasped	"	Speaking
R. raised; hanging by thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap and let fall, twice	"	"
Clasped; clap once; clasped	Quiet	Whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing
Right gesturing; clasped	"	Speaking
Before knees, but apart	"	"
Right on ground, as above	"	Whistle, speaking
Clasped at body; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, speaking
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Clasped at body	Jumping	Speaking, singing
Right up; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Right stretched front, thumb and forefinger pinched together	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	"
Clap; hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Repeat twice	"	Singing
Right, left, right raised in turn	"	Long whistle
Clap twice	"	Repeat; singing
Clap 7 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Held straight out to side, fluttering from wrist	" "	"
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Singing
Clap 9 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Held loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clap once	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front; right raised	Quiet	"
Takes up pinches of ashes, tucks in back of belt	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times	"	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle
Right raised; hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 5 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	" "	"
Right raised; clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs; clasped	"	"
Hanging by thighs; clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once	"	"
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Fast jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped; clap once	Quiet	Singing

Hatchet put into right hand	Quiet	Speaking
Takes hatchet in both hands	"	"
Strikes hatchet down, then up	"	Singing
Strikes hatchet down into ashes of fire-pit	"	Whistle, singing
Takes up in left hand pinches of ashes, holds to right, left, right, left ear	Squatting	Whistle, singing
Puts pinch of ashes in back of belt	"	Singing
Holds hatchet in right hand	"	Speaking
Lets hatchet fall	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet, then lays it down	"	"

(A piece of meat in a straw loop was offered to her, but she did not take it.)

An egg was given to her, which she set up on end on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet	"	Singing, speaking alternate
Puts hatchet down	"	
Clasp; clap once; clasped	*Mu la*[11] back on bench, quiet	Whistle, singing, speaking
Hanging loosely; clasped	Quiet	Singing, whistle alternate
Right raised; hanging loosely	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
A hen was given her which she held by its wings with the left hand. With the right she pulled out some down and let it fall into the ashes. Let hen go.	Squatting	Speaking
Repeated, but did not let hen go again	"	Singing, speaking
Hatchet put into right hand	"	Speaking
Almost severed hen's head, holding it	"	Singing
on a board placed before her	"	Singing
Put hen in ashes, where it died	"	"
	Mu la back on bench	Speaking

(The hen was later made the chief dish of the feast.)

Hanging beside thighs; clap once	Jumping	Singing
Loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Right on ground, as above	"	Singing, whistle alternate; speaking, whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
She was given a small bundle of straw, which she tied in 3 bunches below and 5 above the straw which bound it, then held it in her left hand	Quiet	"

(Meanwhile the old man's first wife had been whittling 3 pieces of wood into the shape of knives, which she now striped black on the handles.)

She set the straw bundle on the floor at her left, and various persons capped the 5 bunches with egg shell		Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging loosely in front	Jumping	Singing
Clasped in lap	"	Whistle
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	
She took up bundle with egg shells on it	"	Singing

---

[11] The *Miao* word for shamaness.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO OF KWEICHOW

788

She took off shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set bundle down at her left	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, speaking
Clasped	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs; right raised	Jumping	Singing
She moved the egg shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set up the straw bundle on the board before her	"	Singing
Clasped	"	"
A lighted bundle of spirit money was given her	Jumping	Whistle, singing alternate
A bowl of rice and one of wine were set before her. Some sprays of cypress from the fire-pit were lighted and three sticks of incense laid across the bowls.	Quiet	Singing
A piece of meat was put before her and a piece of wood in her right hand	Squatting	Speaking
She took the three "knives" in her left hand and let the other fall in two pieces	"	"
She poured out the wine slowly	"	Speaking fast
She turned the bowl upside down	"	" "
Hands hanging loosely	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
(The straw was taken away. The egg had been quietly removed before.)		
Clap 8 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Clasped; hanging beside thighs	Quiet, then jumping	Singing
Clap 8 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once, let fall	"	"
Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(The chicken and hatchet were taken away.)		
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap twice	"	"
(Before her are now the upturned bowl with two pieces of wood on it, one with incense sticks across it, and the three knives, with a bowl back of them.)		
Clap twice	Quiet	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap; raise right hand	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	Singing, speaking, whistle, speaking, whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
(The feathers were taken from the fire-pit.)		
Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely, then clasped; repeat	Quiet	Singing

THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS

Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(A branch of bamboo and a stick were placed in the ashes.)		
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 6 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle, singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
(An egg was placed at her right. The scythe was brought and the board taken away.)		
She took the scythe and sharpened it on the edge of the little tub of water. She set it up on the hearth handle down, took it up, and moved the ashes in the fire-pit	Squatting	Speaking
She took up pinches of ashes, put them to her ears as before and into the back of her belt	Squatting	Singing
She was given an egg, which she set up on end	"	Speaking
Clap once	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
(Ashes were put into the water in the tub; it was taken away.)		
She threw the scythe twice, almost to the door	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 6 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet, then jumping	Singing, whistle
She took the bamboo branch in her left hand	Quiet	Speaking
She laid it aside	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle, alternate
Clasped	Quiet	Repeat thrice
Hanging at side; right raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
(Another bamboo branch was brought.)		
With her left hand she set it on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking, singing, whistle
(A lighted stick was held under the branch.)		Blowing
She shook the branch		Speaking
(A piece of blue cloth was held under the branch, which was shaken as lighted sticks were held under it.)		Whistle, singing
(More sticks were lighted and used thus.)		
She shook the branch again		Singing
(Sticks were used as if looking for something fallen from the branch.)		
Clap once; then hanging loosely	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Holding edge of bench	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	Quiet	" "
(Another branch was brought and used as before. Two or more women looked for something and when it was found in rolled-up leaves, they wrapped it in the cloth and took it away. Much concern was shown about this and much care taken to insure getting something.)		
Clasped	Quiet	Singing

Another egg was brought; she set it up on end	Squatting	Speaking
Clasped	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
She broke a leafless bamboo branch and put it into the ashes	Quiet	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	"	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	" "
Another chicken was brought, from which she took more feathers and put them into the fire	Squatting *Mu la* back on bench	Speaking
Out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely	"	Singing
Clap once; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
She tied a string to the leg of the chicken	"	Singing
Out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely	Quiet	Singing, speaking
She put pinches of ashes to her ears as before	Squatting	" " , alternate
An egg was brought; she set it on end	"	Speaking
Clap once; hanging beside thighs	*Mu la* back on bench, feet jumping	Singing
Clap 10 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clasped	Quiet	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 12 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Right on ground, as before	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
She put a pinch of ashes at back of belt	Quiet	"
Clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 15 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Right on ground, as before	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	Squatting	"
She picked up the hatchet and struck it on the hearth, then in the ashes. She took up pinches of ashes as before, and held them to her ear, then put a pinch in her belt	*Mu la* back on bench	Speaking, singing
She held the piece of meat over the ashes, then put it in them	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	*Mu la* back on bench	"
Resting on bench	Jumping	Singing
(The piece of meat was taken out.)		
Clap 4 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent

788

Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clap 9 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
(The scythe and tub were brought.)		
She whetted the scythe, as before; set it on end, handle down; stirred the ashes with it; took up pinches of them, put them to her ear and in her belt.	Squatting	Silent Singing
She tried to set the egg up on end, but failed	"	
She threw the scythe 3 times	*Mu la* back on bench	Speaking
Resting on bench	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(Ashes were put in the water in the tub. It was taken away.)		
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing a long time
Clap once	"	Calling "Mu la"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle
(The egg was taken away.)		
She set her hand to swinging as if holding a bowl. In some confusion someone noticed the omission and supplied one hurriedly from those on the tray.		Singing, calling "Mu la"
She set the bowl upside down on the ground.		

[69a]

788 I had arrived after the ceremony began. On
755 the hearth before her was a partly burned
791 bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken
by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
755 nan, until money should be sent to him for
traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of
791 the three.

[342]

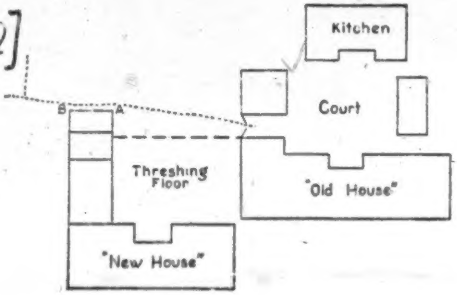

Kitchen
Court
B
A
Threshing Floor
"Old House"
"New House"

FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

[69c]

788 755 791 She had already begun to sing when I was called in from helping with the sunning of grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

788 quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She
had a graceful motion of lifting the hand be-
755 fore the face and turning the palm upward, or
with the thumb slightly raised.

791 A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the *sheng* measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers, and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

788 and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after
which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied
755 over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on
her back. She threw the axe as the others had
791 thrown the scythe. A basin of water was
brought so that she might wash her hands.

A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up – except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

---

[18] Graham, 1937, p. 90.

from the wrist, clapping them before her, 788
then raising the left hand before her face. 755
Once she bent over double as she held her
hands behind her and fluttered them. When 791
she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamanesses in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after a funeral was guest at a meal in another home, to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

> When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.[18]

RITES OF INTENSIFICATION[1]

CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS

796 796 527 **The Lunar New Year.** Preparations for the period of leisure and festivity of which the lunar New Year was the central point began soon after the rice harvest. Glutinous rice cakes, some stuffed with beans, some made of the black rice, some colored red, but almost all white, rice wine, bean curd, pork in various forms, and sometimes beef had to be made ready not only for the feasts of the first month, but also for weddings, bullfights, and all occasions known as "invitations to drink wine." Of the weddings I saw or knew about all took place between the sixth of the tenth month and the eighteenth of the second month. Bullfights took place on the second day of the second month and in the eighth and ninth months.

They had to bring in a large supply of fuel, also, not only for the first fifteen days of the first month, at least, when as little work was done as possible, but also for the large amount of cooking involved in the making of these special foods. As many had new clothes as could afford them. This called for the dyeing of pieces of white cloth to a very dark blue, the cutting and making of garments, the embroidering of aprons and overpieces, the weaving of belts, and the making of pads for the babies. Clothing and bedding were washed wholesale so that no one need think of that for two or three weeks after the New Year. The whole village was put in order.

796 252 527 For the glutinous rice cakes the hulled rice was boiled to a stiff paste, which was then put into a large stone mortar and pounded with large, wooden mallets on long handles until it was of the right consistency to shape. If beans were to be put inside, they were boiled with herbs or ginger and salt to season them and the paste wrapped around them. Some liked a thin shell of paste, some a thicker one. For the pounding of the paste two strong men were needed; women did the rest. Freshly made cakes could be eaten as they were, for

---

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

796 252 527 the cooking and pounding heated them and they had not yet become stiff and hard. At this stage they were also good cut in pieces and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest the air dry them out too much they were kept in large jars full of water. When they formed the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable mixed with much red chillie was eaten with the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice were greatly prized because not much of this grain was raised and it was sweeter than the white. Red ones were liked because red is the color of joy.

796 273 527 One morning I went into the kitchen and found the old man's first wife and the second nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden cask with no top or bottom had been set, large end down, in one of the large kettles over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the old lady's task to keep just the right fire going under it. Sawdust was packed around the lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam. From a hole in one side of the cask ran a length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This equipment was owned by this household and borrowed by others when there was occasion to make a large supply. New wine was sweet and had some rice in it. Later it became sour or strong of alcohol.

796 252 527 Bean curd was made as follows: The soy beans and water were dipped with a small wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in the upper of two millstones set on a wooden frame at a convenient height. From between the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

anything added to cause it to curdle. The 796
mill was turned in one of two ways: Either a
wooden handle stuck up beside the upper 252
millstone so that one operator had to lean over
to turn it, or a curved beam rose from the 527
rod in the side of this stone and had a handle at right angles to it, supported by a rope from the beam above. One or two persons pushed and pulled this around. I helped when they were making bean curd at the time of the second old lady's funeral. A hot fire of straw and grass was kept burning beneath one of the large bowls. Into it the operator of the mill poured the contents of the buckets of bean milk until it was full. When the milk had boiled up it was poured into a wicker tray or scoop with a cloth in it, set over a wooden cask. When the whey had gone through, hastened by some pressure on the cloth, the cloth was laid on a flat board and the curd cut into squares.

The killing of the New Year pig was the occasion of an offering to the household gods and a feast in which all the dishes contained pork. In our family it was killed a week before New Year's Day. The old man's brother from Yang-niu-ts'un and his son, who went to school in Lung-li, the old man from House 33, and his sons helped. When I arrived a small table was set on the steps before the door. In the center of it was a *sheng* measure of rice with lighted incense sticks set in it, and at each corner a rice bowl containing (1) wine, (2) bean curd, (3) chillies, and (4) salt. To one corner of the table were fastened two long bamboo poles, both of which had some strips of white paper and leaves at the top. One was split finely to make a holder in which a bowl was set. The pig killed was a large one, worth well over a thousand Chinese dollars. The blood had been allowed to drip into a tub, after which the carcass had been put on a wooden frame, and the bristles scraped off. The entrails had been taken out and were being washed. The animal had been cut squarely in two from snout to tail. The two parts of the pig were taken into the hall and set on boards on the floor. They were then weighed and the women took pieces to make the dishes of the feast. The one I attended was of the following dishes: pig's blood broth, carrots and pork, celery and pork, and a soup

of fat and lean pork, with a seasoning of chil- 796
lies. All but the old man drank wine. I was
invited to eat with the men and boys. The 252
other women ate in the hall. After the feast 527
the pig was cut up and the relatives went home with a big piece of it and two bunches of carrots. They gave me a piece of lean and a piece of fat.

The next day there was mist everywhere 796
and it became colder and colder until there
was ice all over the mountains, bending the 527
bamboo down to the ground. It was thick enough on rice fields so that the children cut slabs of it and carried them about. There was also some snow. This weather pleased the people very much. They said it meant that the crops would be good this year. Mo-mei spent most of these days making a new long garment for her oldest cousin as she sat by my fire. Some of the other girls were there one day, and on another, one of the women from House 11 came.

The oldest nephew, Cheng-hsüan, and the son Cheng-hsiang spent most of the last day of the twelfth month writing appropriate New Year inscriptions in black on red or orange, and in white on blue paper. They got these formulae from a book of them. These strips of paper were pasted on the door frames and window frames, top and both sides. Red or orange indicated that the family was not in mourning, blue or white that it was. Those on blue paper Cheng-hsüan sent to his old home in Yang-niu-ts'un, as his mother had died during the year. (Cause of death: heart disease with edema.) That evening a feast was held in the big house at which the dishes were of pork — several of them — "long life noodles," bean curd, and a kind of spoon bread with egg in it. There were piles and piles of glutinous rice cakes laid out in the hall, and two young men were pounding more of the paste in a mortar. Some of the cakes had beans in them. I had given the family a large roll of firecrackers, half of which they set off at this time. The small boys scrambled for the paper cases. Incense sticks were set in at one side of the door sills of both the "new" and the "old" houses and the gate into the court.

The next morning they set off the rest of the roll of firecrackers and all had a special

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
252 pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
[124] then other things in turn. I sat until noon with the old man and his second wife and
527 found them very ready to answer questions about family history. The conversation led into that channel in an interesting way. The old man had been reading about Roosevelt in the newspaper and asked me questions, being most desirous of knowing whether there were many people named Lo in the United States. (The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the village girls sitting around a fire at their usual
527 place, but they had no visitors as yet. During the day children went around from house to house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the fires in the houses, the women about several
533 fires at certain points in the village and just
527 inside the wood. The same women usually composed each group, but now and then one would visit a group not her own. The girls now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'
123

---

[2] See p. 8.

527
796 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and
292 taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting
123 boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first
574 nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice
527 and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 **San Yüeh San.**[8] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village
796 built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the for-
527 tune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

---

[8] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar – a Chinese festival.

were burned, gunpowder charges were set 796
off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the 782
front of the shrine.

The second time a rooster was killed on a 527
stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village.

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival 796
at which ancestral graves are repaired and
decorated with a bamboo pole which has 527
leaves and white paper streamers at the top. 769
It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter.

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking. 796. 527 769

---

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves – roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5-17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.[5] This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice — yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn. 796 527

Tuan Yang.[6] In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

---

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21–June 4.)

[6] The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

796 527 Lung Hui.[7] For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

796 541 **Bullfights** (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.[8] The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, *f*). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

---

[7] "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

796
541

the fights were going on a large group of men brought their caged thrushes together in one place to hear them sing against one another.

For this occasion both young men and young women wore very good clothing, new if possible. There were not many married women present. Two girls wore a silver ornament on the back of the overpiece (fig. 17, *c*), consisting of silver chains of beads to one silver cowrie shell, then to three, and then to five silver bells of various shapes. These made a fine tinkling as they walked. Two girls were dressed in the layers of colored blouses with embroidered pieces on the upper sleeves and silver disks covering the whole overpiece, trousers, and aprons, but not the pleated skirt. Several wore the fancy scarf on the turban. Two young men played the *lu sheng* at intervals during the afternoon.

The fights lasted from about ten o'clock in the morning to late afternon, when the guests went to the nearby villages. For much of the night the girls and young men played the *lu sheng*, talked and sang. The next day they went home, but the fights were held for three successive afternoons. I was invited to spend two weeks in Yang-niu-ts'un with relatives of those from Yang-chia-sai.

Another was held on this same field early in the eighth month of the lunar calendar. On the tenth, one was held at Hsin-ch'ang, a market town a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un. It took place in a level space just outside the village, with the road leading into the village crossing it well to one side. There were two slopes here, also. Only a few people stood on the west one, though they were joined by others as the sun came lower. It was a very hot day. Each group of villagers had flags of white with a design which faintly resembled a dragon on them, and staves topped with a rosette of white chicken feathers and other rosettes of colored paper at intervals along them.

We were early enough this time for the ceremony of *ta ch'ang*.[a] This was a procession consisting of groups of men, including one or two in the orange or yellow robes of the

---

[a] The opening ceremony.

[76b]

796
541

priest. One priest led the bull, one man had a gong, one a long stick upon which was festooned a long, lighted string of firecrackers, two trumpets, and several villagers the banners and staves. Most of the bulls were covered with bright cloths of various colors or with red ribbons. The procession followed the foot of the hill upon which we stood, went around a clump of trees well beyond it, along the foot of the opposite hill, around the whole village and back to the field, where the bulls were divested of their finery and the banners and staves were set up in their former places. The "field" was thus defined as a plowed part which had been somewhat leveled off, one sodded and more level, some land on either side of the stone road leading into the village, and the village itself. As the procession moved nine gunpowder charges were set off twice at each end of the plowed section.

At this fight there was no gong when a fight was to be held, but a group of men with bamboo staves in their hands went to invite two bulls at either end of the field to be led on. It was so hot that only one really good fight took place. Most of the bulls just looked at one another as if to say, "Well, what do you think of that thing!" and then looked away. Sometimes one at once turned and ran.

It was market day at Hsin-ch'ang and those who attended the market also watched the fight. For the occasion even the little girls wore their best. This included the embroidered scarf on the turban showing the design on the edge, silver on the overpiece up to a maximum, which was the whole front and shoulder pieces covered with silver disks, large and small, four-petalled flowers of cowrie shells in the back with rows of shells suspended from them in two tiers, and a silver ornament consisting of chains, shells, and bells. It must have represented a goodly sum of money, as it could be bought only with real silver in the lump or Chinese silver dollars. Dr. Wu, in his account of the fight and sacrifice held each twelfth year, the initial one of a cycle, or "the year of the rat," speaks of a bullfight as a harvest festival coming after the harvest, when the period of relaxation begins, but this particular fight came right in the midst of harvest when the villagers were at their busiest.

[77a]

Two other fights I saw were held on the tenth of the ninth month of one year and the nineteenth of the ninth month the next year, at the meadow just outside Yang-chia-sai. Just before the first one we had been having bad weather for some time and, while it did not rain that day, it was still gray, misty in the valleys, and wet under foot. There was also a cold northeast wind. Therefore, fewer came than would have been the case had the weather been fine and the roads dry. The crowd seemed to be composed mostly of Chung-chia and Chinese from neighboring villages, with only a few visiting Cowrie Shell Miao. The audience filled the rise of ground with grave mounds on it to the east of the field. Sellers of noodles, nuts, candy, and wine occupied a piece of ground nearby. 796 541

Before the fights began a table was set up in the middle of the field and the usual objects of worship set upon it: a measure of rice with candles and incense sticks set in it, bowls of wine, and so on. The priests, of whom there were five, bowed to the ground before it before the *ta ch'ang* procession took place. After the procession it was removed and a cluster of lighted incense sticks was stuck in the ground at that place until they burned down. The procession consisted of five boys bearing large red banners on bamboo poles, a group of musicians, the five priests in orange silk robes, of whom the first carried a horn of wine which he spilled as he walked. The others carried umbrellas. After them came men with firecrackers and gongs and the gayly decked bulls, each led by one man. Some bulls without trappings did not go in the procession. This one followed the road to the south, around the group of Chinese houses and the temple, coming back to the highway along the wood, thence to the Tu Ti Miao, and onto the field, where they disbanded. The larger element of worship may have been due to the presence of important ancestral graves near by. However, this may have taken place at the Hsin-ch'ang field. I could not see what took place about a table there.

There were about a dozen bulls at the Yang-chia-sai fight and the fights were about as usual — some acted bored, one or two ran right off the field, two stampeded toward the sellers of food, and there were one or two really good fights. The banners were washed next day, and kept by our family.

The day of the fight held at the same place on the nineteenth of the ninth month of the following year was a bitterly cold one. So few bulls were brought that there was no procession. There was a larger group of Cowrie Shell Miao there than on the former occasion, however, because a young man in the village had just been married and the large group of wedding guests from other villages was still there. Several of the village girls put on their best clothes. There was one stam-

796 541 pede into the sellers of sweetmeats which created much excitement and amusement, but no harm was done. Two bulls fought extremely well. Even after one bull had run off the field the other pursued him and continued the fight in a rice field until one of them had had enough and ran again. After the fights a feast was held at the home of the bridegroom, to which they invited me. The bride and her attendants and the bridegroom had already gone back to her village. Some of the guests sat at tables outside, but there was a group of men in one house and a group of the principal women guests in the other. I was asked to eat with them.

[78b]

Bullfighting Among the Cowrie Shell Miao *

Dr. Wu Tzu-lin **

796
541

Bullfighting among the Cowrie Shell Miao is a part of ancestral worship. Originally it was an act in the great sacrifice when they killed a bull to pay reverence to their ancestors, doubtless so that the ancestors might see that only the value of a bull was sufficient to express their respect for so important a divinity. In the economy of an agricultural village, to kill a bull every year is an impossibility because of poverty, so that among the Cowrie Shell Miao each *tzu* year the wealthy do it once, and it is called *ta*. Between two such sacrifices there must be an interval of eleven full years, but in these eleven years they must do much in the way of preparation. First, the selection of the bull is an especially important thing. Bulls which clash horns must be male water buffalo, and their physique and the form of their horns are all extremely important. Besides, they pay special attention to the feeding of the bull. The daily work of the bull is comparatively light, the food, however, comparatively rich. Until almost the time of the duel what they eat is special, so that the bulls selected to fight are reared to be large, fat, and, of course, quite unlike those used for plowing.

Bullfights are all conducted in the ninth or tenth month of the Chinese calendar. On the one hand, of course, it is a token of remembrance of the ancestors; on the other, it is a kind of ritual pastime at a comparatively short interval after harvest. Having worked all year, in their big meeting on this day they forget all their troubles. So, although the formal sacrifice of killing a bull must come at intervals of eleven years, really the two or three pre-

---

* From an article in a local newspaper in Kweiyang, 1940.

[78c]

796
541

ceding the sacrifice are all a preliminary to the fight. Thus, in ordinary years, while the bullfight is little like *the* fight, yet sometimes it has a period of preliminary offering. The elders of the villages used to make their decision and, about Ch'ing Ming, send a notice inscribed on a tablet of wood to villages within a radius of ten li to make their selection. In recent years instead of wood they use the red scroll and write on it, "Having fixed such and such a day of such and such a month, we hope each relative or friend who has a bull will come and bring it. So and so respectfully gives notice."

The arena for the fight is a piece of level land near a village or a rice field trampled smooth after water has been put upon it. Before the fight, at about nine in the morning, all the families lead the bulls to the field and, after they have assembled begin a *fu ch'ang* ritual. Each family makes the bull go around the boundary of the arena, with the body of the bull covered with red cloth and red silk given by relatives and friends. Wealthy people also put on the tips of the horns a sheath of silver three to four inches long. The priest puts on a yellow robe and, carrying in his hands a bull's horn full of rice wine, follows the bull, from time to time pouring wine on the path. A man following strikes a gong and another sets off firecrackers to add dignity. This is the first act of the fight.

From noon to three in the afternoon is the actual time of bullfighting. At the field the elders of the villages take charge. They also appoint a man as master of ceremonies, who roughly selects bulls of equal body and horn points and matches them as 796 fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If 541 their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop.

As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second act of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls/clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from 796 ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull 782 they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone — first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's 796
horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the
stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then 782
turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on
the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it
behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After
preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal
uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then
other relatives on the wife's side will do). The
maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about
five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the
bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick,
twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he
strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several
times. The bull then loses consciousness and the
bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it
bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and
divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal
uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's
is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull.
As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring
a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars,
not all the same, so each family is to have a share of
two or three *chin*.

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they 796
make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the
afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast 782
in the great hall. Boards and benches are put
together to make a long table and the guests arrange 252
themselves for a long feast. On the table they set
all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of
unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If
other families conduct the ritual at the same time,
the guests who have come to the killing of the bull,
after eating for a time at one place go on to other
places. On that day only men are guests; women do
not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although
all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals,
women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell [562]
Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the
bull, which is a very good example.

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so 796
poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families
who have much wealth so that they can do it always 782
consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing
something for which they will receive a monetary 527
reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form
of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull
men and women, old and young, put on their best
clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the
women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are
splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are
many people and it is a lively occasion, better than
a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and
depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for
the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart.
It must thus be also of no little aid to good health.

[796]

796 After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be
preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always
782 have ten or more pair put away. After an old per-
son in the family dies all the families who have
527 them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set
it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

796 luck until after burial, when it is put away. After
782 the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they
must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a
527 flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent
of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This
sign then can be observed from a great distance.

000 REFERENCES

[81]

REFERENCES

113 CHAPPLE, ELIOT DINSMORE AND COON, CARLETON STEVENS
1942. Principles of anthropology. New York.

THE CHINA PROVINCIAL ATLAS AND GEOGRAPHY
1934, 1935. The provinces and outer territories of China (including the newly-formed provinces) with communications and key maps, contents, and index. *The North China Daily News and Herald, Ltd.*, pp. 38–39. (First edition, May, 1934; second edition, January, 1935.) Shanghai.

CHENG TEH-K'UN
1945. The southwestern barbarians. *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, vol. XVI, series A, pp. 115–18. Ch'engtu.

CLARKE, SAMUEL R.
1911. Among the tribes in southwest China. (Geography, pp. 6–8; ethnography, pp. 9–12.) London.

CRESSEY, GEORGE BABCOCK
1934. China's geographic foundations; a survey of the land and its people. Pp. 72, 79, 369–82. New York and London.

[83a]
[82 blank]

HAWKINS, H. B.

1915. Commercial Press geography of China. (Revised edition.) Commercial Press, Ltd. Shanghai.

GRAHAM, DAVID CROCKETT

1937. The ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao. *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, vol. IX, p. 90. Ch'engtu.

T'AO YÜN-KUEI

1939. On the divination of the Moso tribe in Yunnan. (37th year of Republic.) *Anthropological Journal of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica*, vol. I, pt. I, July–December, 1938, pp. 87–153. (The Commercial Press, Ltd., 1939.) Shanghai.

LIN YÜEH-HWA

1941. The Miao-Man peoples of Kweichow. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 5, nos. 3 and 4, January, pp. 261–345. Cambridge.

WIEGER, L., S.J.

1915. Chinese characters; their origin, etymology, history, classification and signification. Etymological Lessons, Phonetic Series Ho-kien-fu, p. 323. (Catholic Mission Press.)

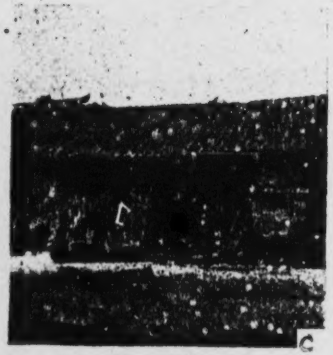
000 FIGURES 13–20

[85]

[84 blank]

a

b



c

d

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Misc AES

342
343

[86a]

[For captions, see p. 86b.-- Analyst]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AES Miao AES

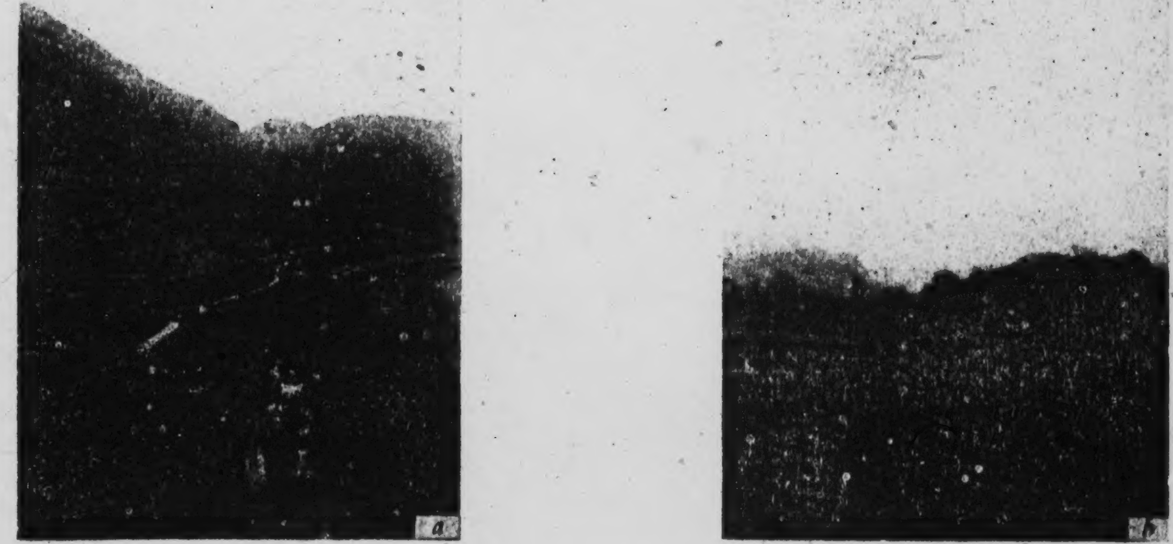
d

a, House under construction; *b*, Granary – small child by door, stone foundation used as threshing floor with spread mats. *c*, Village house, showing rolled mat on threshing floor and bundles of faggots lying against the house. *d*, Women sitting on the edge of the foundation, granary and plow in the background. *e*, Front of "new house," showing sheaves of rice, clothes drying, sedan chair, mats with grain drying on threshing floor. *f*, House in Yang-niu-ts'un, showing sedan chair and balconies – not a typical house.

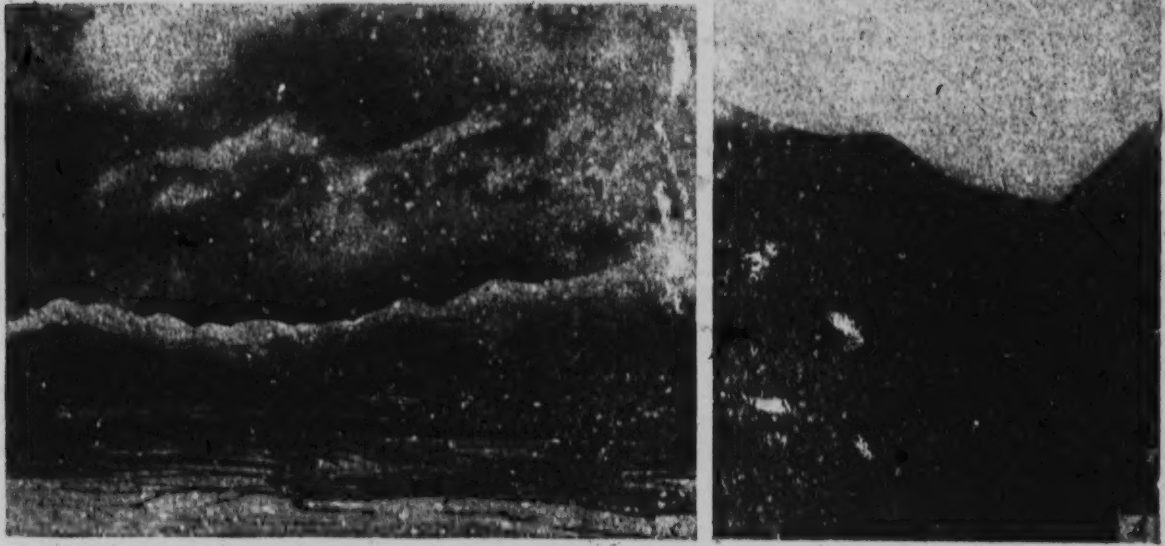
000

[87a]

[For captions, see p. 87b.--Analyst]



4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Mlso AE5



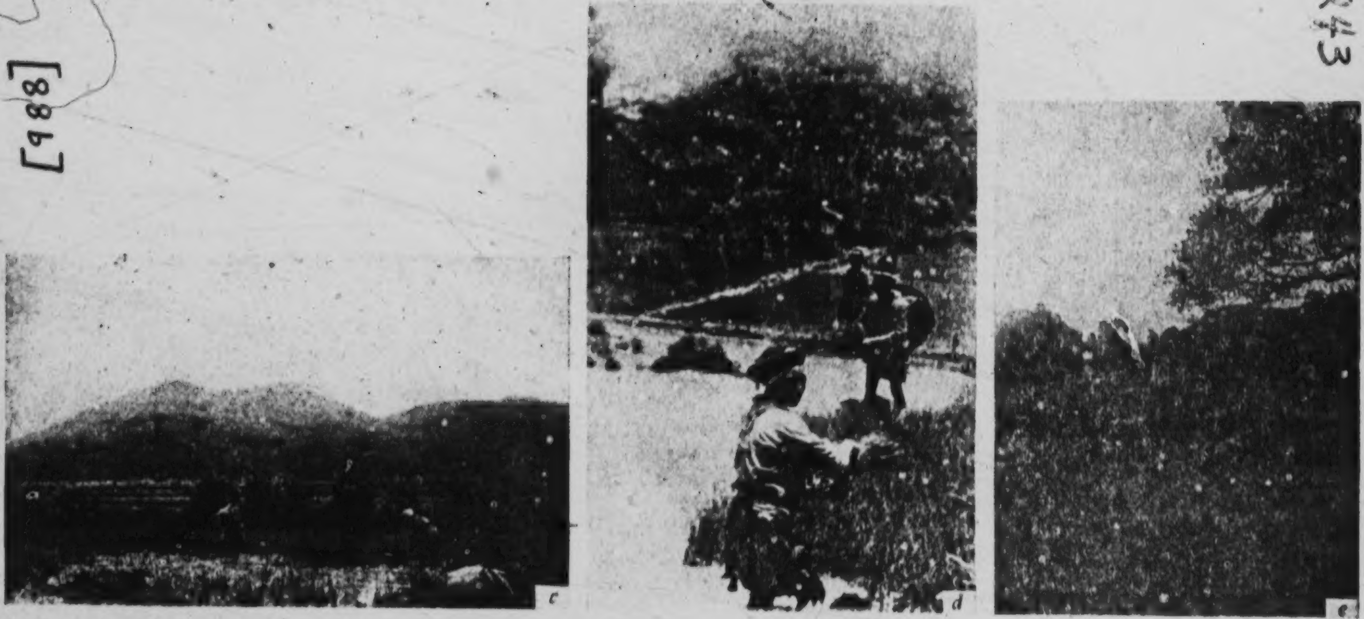
a, Stone road which leads to the pass at the highest point between the motor road and the village, showing women carrying grass. *b*, Approach to village, showing the stone road. *c*, View of the valley from the hills in the east, showing the setting of the village and the terraced rice fields. *d*, The stone road in the valley.

000

4.Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Mico AE5

[88a]

[For captions, see p. 88b.--Analyst]



a, Family and friends setting out the rice plants. *b*, Man plowing, wife spreading night soil. *c*, Women setting out rice plants. *d*, Girls bundling plants in the field. *e*, Women bringing up water with bucket from the pond.

[For captions, see p. 89b.--Analyst]

[89a]

Weckler E-5 (1940-?)1847 AE5 Miao AE5

a, Man on the dike casting rice into the flooded seed beds. *b*, Woman hulling rice, showing rice-hulling machine. *c*, Woman cleaning rice (background), person behind pouring rice from basket into hopper, and in foreground a person pouring rice on a mat. *d*, Woman flailing grain on a threshing floor. *e*, People going through the village bearing rice plants from the seed beds to permanent fields. *f*, Preparing paddy for market by filling baskets and bags, showing grain-cleaning machine, baskets, and mats.

[For captions, see p. 90b.--Analyst]

[90a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AES Misc AES

796
541

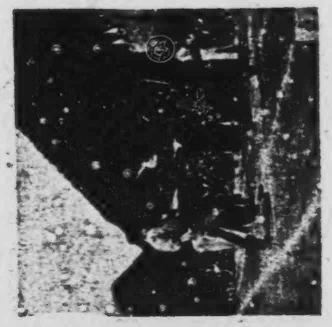
4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

a, Two women of the village following the path across the buffalo bullfighting meadow. *b*, Men on the bullfighting field, procession in the background. *c*, Back view of girls viewing bullfight, showing silver ornaments, embroidery band, and turbans. *d*, Bulls actually fighting. *e*, Group of men at bullfight with caged thrushes. *f*, Bulls fighting and spectators, showing group of men with staves.

796
541

[906]

534
535

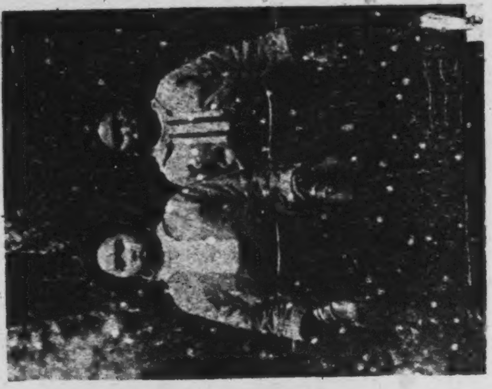


[For captions, see p. 91b.
--Analyst]

534
535
292
283
778

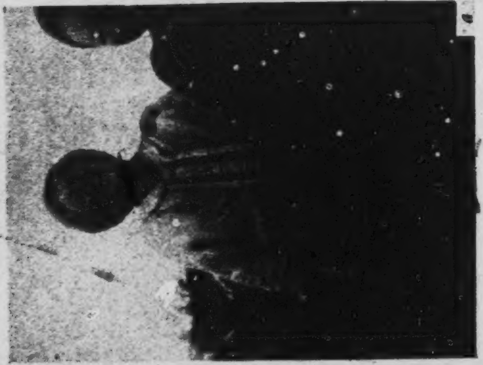
[916]

a, The *lu-sheng*. *b*, The *lu-sheng*, showing men dancing as they play the instrument. *c*, Old woman in ragged clothing. *d*, Two school boys before the shrine to the local deity at the south of the village. *e*, Woman winding bobbins from the ball in a tub of water, one of the priests is behind her. *f*, "Old Black" Miao, showing embroidery like that on the old woman's body at burial (see p. 56).



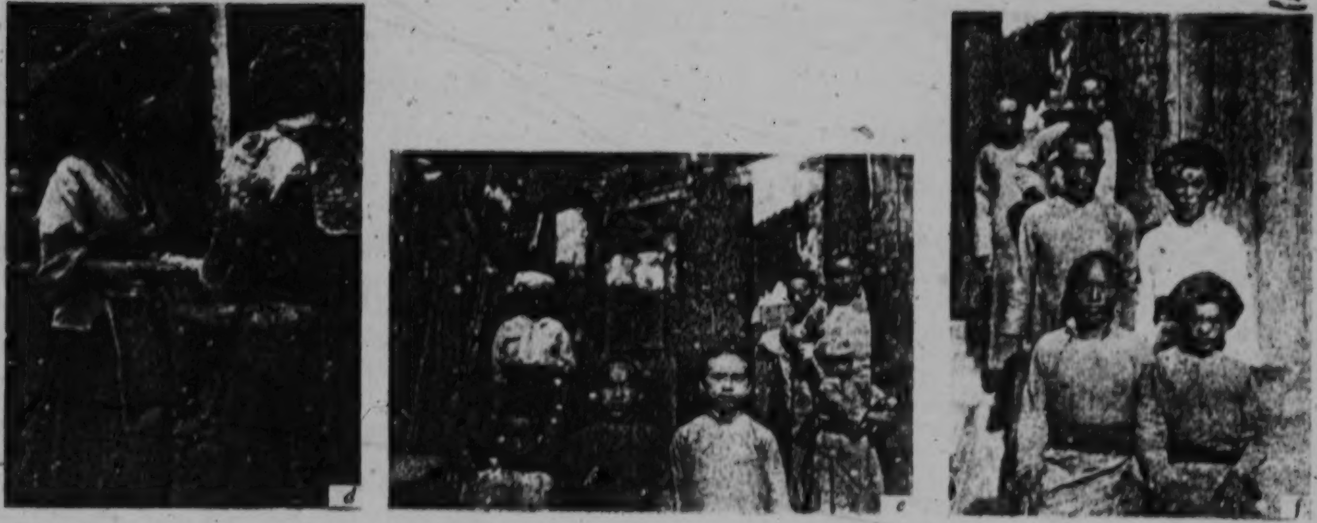
c

b

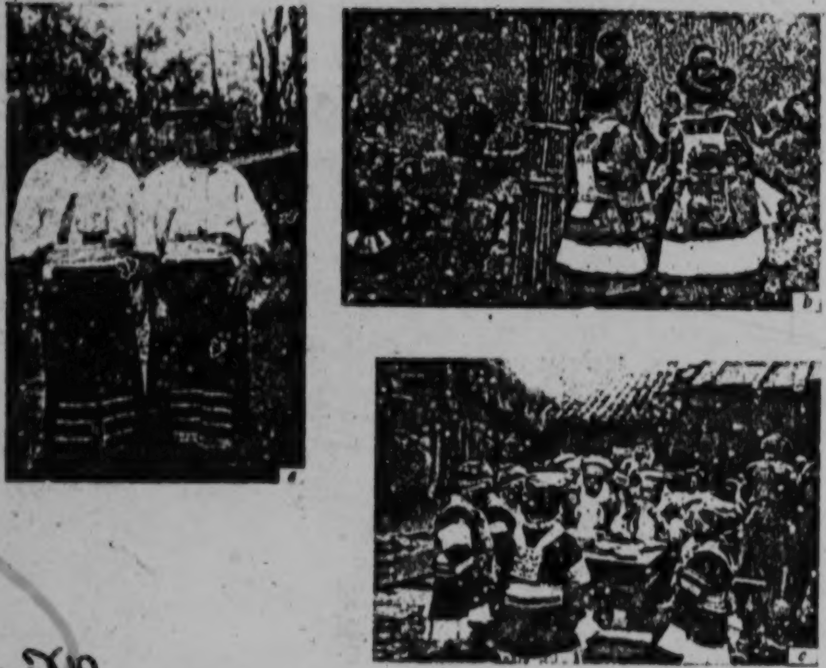


a

[For captions, see p. 92b.
--Analyst]
[92a]



a, Two jolly village girls. *b*, Girl in village. *c*, Girls wearing everyday working clothes. *d*, "Old Black" Miao girls at market. *e*, Three little cousins standing before the entrance to a house in Yang-niu-ts'un —Mo-mei in background. *f*, Four brothers of a family in Yang-niu-ts'un.



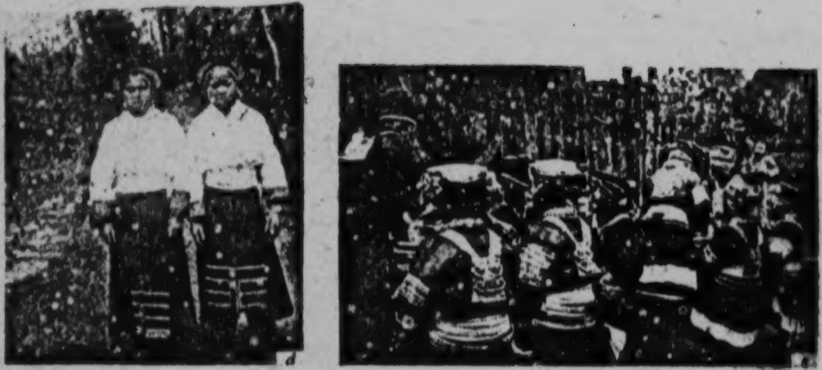
[For captions, see p. 93b. --Analyst]

[93a]

4AHGay E-8 (1946-7) 1947 AES Misc AES

292
585

4.Mickey B-6 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5



a, *d*, Two village girls, showing turban and clothes which are used only on occasion. *b*, Two of the "White" Miao. *c*, *e*, bride and her attendants, and women guests at feast at her home, showing the special turban and ceremonial dress worn only by the bride and her attendants at her wedding.

[936]

292
585

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 639

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

STONE-GATEWAY
AND
THE FLOWERY MIAO

BY

Samuel Pollard's Colleague, Successor and Friend,

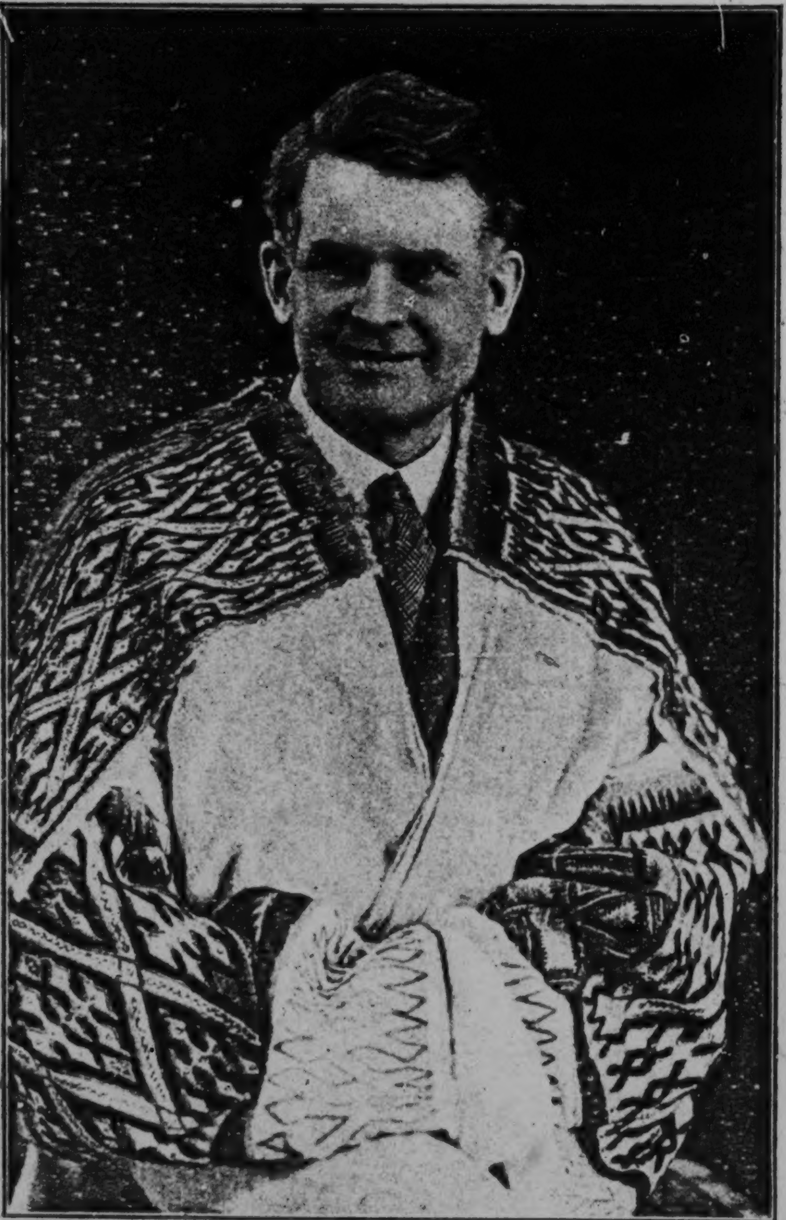
WILL H. HUDSPETH, M.A.

> "A little one shall become a thousand
> and a small one a strong nation;
> I the Lord will hasten it, in its day."

LONDON:
THE CARGATE PRESS,
HOLBORN HALL, E.C.1.

.3] [pp. 1 and 2 contain no textual material].

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5



Frontispiece

REV. WILLIAM H. HUDSPETH

(IN MIAO COSTUME)

[Facing p. 3]

Printed in Great Britain by Wyman & Sons, Ltd.,
London, Fakenham and Reading

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

This book
is dedicated to
the memory of
SAM POLLARD AND FRANK DYMOND
who fifty years ago sailed for China
and to
the Band of Preachers
(Miao, Nosu and Chinese) who in Yunnan and
Kweichow have lived and died for the good news.

China Bible House,
58, Hongkong Road,
Shanghai.
January, 1937

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE
I Who are the Flowery Miao? - 9
II In the Slough of Despond—Pictures of the People - - - 19
III Out of the Mire—the Story of Stone-Gateway - - - - 31
IV The Ebb and the Flow—Pictures of Miao Churches - - - 41
V Vignettes—Pictures of Miao Christians - - - - - 57
VI Miao Schools and Scholars - 69
VII Challenge - - - - - 79
Epilogue - - - - - 86

[p. 7]

[p. 6 is blank]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER I

WHO ARE THE FLOWERY MIAO?

101 175 WHEN the first Chinese inhabitants came from the West, they encountered a half-savage population whom they were frequently compelled to fight. One of these races, the Miao-tzu, is still to be found in several provinces of China. The name means "Shoots", i.e., sons of the soil, and was probably given by the invaders. Originally nomads and hunters, the Miao-tzu have now settled in the mountain districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, in Western and Southern Szechuan, Hunan, Kuangtung and Kwangsi, where they cultivate the soil and hunt whatever prey may be found. Divided into a great many tribes, numbering, it is said, more than fifty, they are often called, from the colour of their dress, Black Miao, White or River Miao, Red Miao, Magpie Miao, West-of-the-water Miao and Flowery Miao. All the Miao people look back to a common ancestor chieftain Ch'ih-Yu, who was defeated by the Yellow Emperor of China at a date prior to the days when Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan. Of Ch'ih-Yu these aboriginals still

[p. 8 is blank]

101 175 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these that this book is mainly concerned. 262 [241] All are agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

---

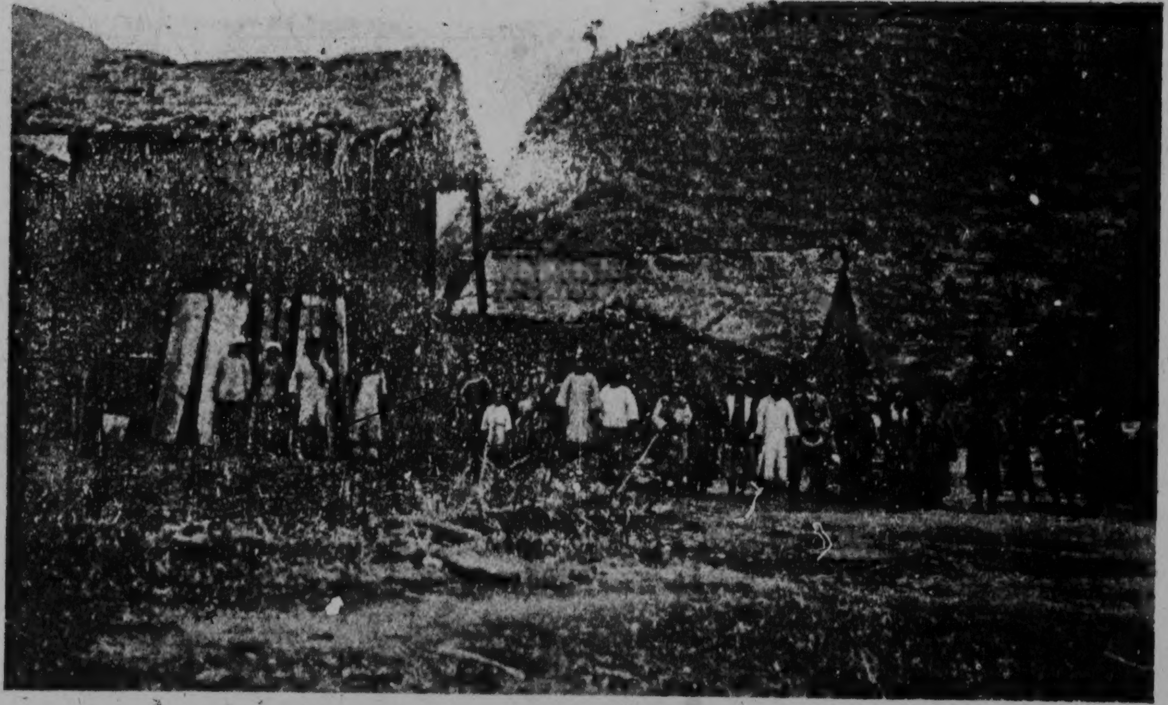
*Mythical first Emperor of China.

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed 262
sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring
harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of
large numbers of the people. They can usually
afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt
purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this
becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people
fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a
Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being 511
neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers,
the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. [671]
Their laws are those of the Chinese Government,
and for money they use whatever is in currency [436]
amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbour- [624]
hood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves
with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to 462
weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her [291]
husband and her children. This is no light task.
The women have very much more work to do than
men. They weave the clothes, carry the water,
collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear
innumerable children, and so well do they manage [846]
this that a majority of the mothers are up and about
the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their 291
clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress.
A man wears sandals, which he himself has made,
short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a
loose-fitting upper garment which is between a
jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears
a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth.
The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and,
scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

291 pretty pleated skirts. Their upper garment, a very
open-necked bodice, is ultra modern, but it must
[834] be recorded that though married women expose
their breasts unmarried girls never do so. Women
292 wear no head-dress. Indeed, a year or two after
302 marriage they wind their hair into a horn that
makes the wearing of a hat impossible. This
peculiar coiffure is a sign of motherhood, and it is
a proud day when a woman can dress her hair in
this manner. Her "horn is exalted". Unmarried
girls wear their hair in two plaits, something after
301 the fashion of English schoolgirls. Young men,
as well as young women, wear brass or copper ear-rings,
292 and on gala occasions every one, man or
woman, has a beautiful embroidered gown. In
general the dress is pleasing, even picturesque, and
harmonises beautifully with the mountains on
which they live. It is not unusual for a missionary
to be presented with a gala gown. English friends
are highly amused when they are told that such a
gown was grown in a village garden. Like
Joseph's coat it is of many colours. The cloth is
woven from hemp cultivated in a nearby hamlet,
the woollen texture is made from wool sheared
from mountain sheep, the pretty colouring is
obtained from plants and roots gathered on the
hills—in a word it was grown in a village garden.

[535] Everybody is fond of noise, dancing and music.
534 The musical instrument par excellence is the
ggeh which is played by the young men, who
are popular and admired according to their ability
to blow it. A *ggeh* is made of bamboo pipes,

[Facing p. 13]



[Photo by F. Deaville Walker

A NOSU VILLAGE

080

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

from four to six being let into a piece of hollowed 534 wood, the handle of this forming the mouthpiece. The sound, which is something like that of bagpipes, is produced by brass reeds fixed into the tubes which are of different lengths. Tunes played on these instruments seem weird and monotonous to the Westerner but they play a dangerous part in the life of the young people. When, on moonlight nights, pipers come to the outskirts of a village the music is irresistible to the girls, who go out to the players, and after posture-like dancing and antiphonal singing spend the night in their company. It is not unheard of for a mother to encourage her own fourteen-year-old daughter to go out to these youths. Human nature can sink very low.

The Miao are yellow-skinned and broad-nosed; 141 they are of short stature and have straight black hair. Occasionally one meets with a boy or girl whose hair is reddish and such children are unpopular. Like the Chinese the Miao language is tonal and [93] mono-syllabic; in every other respect it is entirely 194 different. Happily their language is more easily learnt than Chinese, though the tones are quite as confusing. As an illustration, take a word which we would spell with the letters D and A. Pronounced with what scholars would term an upper even tone "*da*" means "to drag", "to seize"; pronounced with an ascending tone "*da*" means "to kill", with a departing tone "to come", with a lower even tone "to die" or "to kick". It will be readily understood how bewildering such a language can be.

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of
an American Red Indian. The wild boar is
hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with
consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded
and chased from point to point until it is exhausted,
the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheas-
ants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow
and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned
with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements
for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with
grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without
interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed
for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat
barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes
and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the
goats serve as winter jackets for the older men.
Morning and evening these cattle pass through the
living-room to and from their grazing-grounds.
342 The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment,
since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest
chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood
fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will
smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

low stools, not more than four inches high, and 352
close at hand is an article of furniture which serves
as a table, though it would be flattering to call it
by that name. Arranged by the side of the walls
are a grain bin, a cistern or tub in which the drinking
water is kept, a contrivance which serves as a bed,
a large iron pan for cooking and other purposes,
and innumerable odds and ends which to you
would appear useless but to the owner are valued
family possessions. On rudely contrived shelves
or in a roughly made cupboard are several earthenware
or wooden basins with primitive chopsticks
and spoons. You will notice the loom, which is 286
as primitive as that used in the days of the Biblical
Pharaohs. It will interest you and you will wish
to examine the framework, the warp beam, lease
rods, shed stick, heddle-rod, cloth beam and
unfinished fabric. Happily it is not a fixture and
can be moved outside the house, so that the weary
housewife can weave in the sun. For the most
part the articles enumerated, together with bundles
of clothes, form the whole household possessions
of a Miao family. The tragedy of these mud huts 342
is not so much the poverty as the ugliness and the
absence of cleanliness. The missionary often has
to sleep in a house such as this, and when his bed
has been set against the dividing wall, if this has
been made of wattle as it frequently is, some animal
will push his head through a hole in the partition
to have a look at the stranger.

Miao salute one another with great cordiality, 576
men greeting men, and women, women, by rubbing

576 one another's left shoulder and asking "*Dieb zao niob giob?*"—"Are you well?" An adult greets children by rubbing or patting his or her head. The form of farewell is (the host) "Go slowly, go slowly" (the parting guest) "Sit slowly, sit slowly". 574/181 They are wonderfully hospitable and guests are expected to eat to satisfy. How often the traveller sees them stuff away basin after basin of maize until he fears there will be a terrible accident! People will go short themselves so that visitors be generously treated. Should a guest be of some importance a goat or sheep is slain and cooked—it is not always meticulously clean—and upon the departure of the guest a leg of the animal is always given to him. A non-observance of this custom would be a serious breach of good manners, as also it would be to refuse food to even a casual visitor. Hospitality is as characteristic of them as of the Arab, and a Miao will borrow food to entertain a guest. Though poor, thriftless and no lovers of fighting, they are simple and generous, honest and lovable. One of the child races of the world, they are as old as the Chinese, and when Moses led the children of Israel through the wilderness, the Miao were hunting wild beasts on their beloved hills and at the close of day their bards would sing a Miao version of the Creation, the Flood, and the Re-population of the World; and story-tellers would narrate quaint legends which have been handed down to this generation. Here is one. Would not Kipling have enjoyed it?

773/539 Long, long ago, instead of there being only one sun in the skies, there were six, and in those days the world was beautifully warm. One year, however, the rain refused to come and by degrees all vegetables and trees were withered. A meeting of the old men was held to discuss what could be done. One man said this and another that until it was finally decided that the suns must be shot. A famous archer called Yang Yah was called and ordered to shoot the suns. Bringing his cross-bow and arrows, Yang Yah looked up at the suns and observed they were a long distance away. Fortunately, near by, there was a small lake in which all six suns were reflected and the happy thought came to Yang Yah that if he could shoot the reflections the same purpose would be served as hitting the suns themselves. Adjusting an arrow and taking careful aim, he released the trigger and hit sun number one right in the centre, upon which sun number one promptly disappeared. He shot a second arrow and sun number two disappeared, and so on with suns number, three, four and five, but as Yang Yah adjusted his arrow to shoot sun number six, this sun became vastly afraid and away it went beyond the horizon. The next morning—well, really there wasn't a next morning, as the sun refused to come out and day after day darkness was upon the face of the earth. To bring water from the springs people had to carry torches, and to plough the land, lights were suspended from the horns of the cows. What was to be done? A second gathering of the old men of the tribe was held; once more one man suggested this and another

773
539
suggested that, until finally it was proposed that some one should call to the sun and ask him to come out, assuring him that no one would shoot him. But how were they to call to the sun? It was thought that a tiger would be able to do this rather well; so one was brought and loudly it roared. "Dear me!" thought the sun, "the people are still angry with me, I won't go out yet." Then some one wondered whether it wouldn't be a good thing to use a cow to call to the sun. The lowing of a cow is far-reaching and yet not so frightening as the roar of a tiger. So a cow was brought and loudly it lowed. "Aha!" thought the sun, "they are not quite so displeased with me as they were, but they are still angry; so I won't go out yet." Then some one had the happy idea of using a cock; the crow of a cock is far-reaching yet pleasing, and being placed on a perch, it crowed lustily. "What a very nice sound that is," thought the sun, "I'll just look out to see what is happening," and he peeped over the horizon. People were so pleased to see him that they shouted for joy. The sun was quite as delighted as the people, and from the red of the morning he fashioned a little comb which he placed on the head of the cock. Now every morning, before the sun comes out, the cock crows to tell him it is all right, no one will shoot him.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

174

CHAPTER II

IN THE SLOUGH OF DESPOND

Pictures of the People

THE Miao do not live alone. They are close neighbours of Chinese and of another tribe, the Nosu.

The Nosu (pronounced No-soo) are not illiterate as the Miao. They have a written language represented by some three thousand different words and are a fine, tall race, with a comparatively fair complexion. Probably of Aryan origin, they are distinct from the Chinese in language, customs and character. There is a stretch of hill country in the South of Szechuan where they still live under their own chiefs and are independent of Chinese rule. As to their religion, the Nosu worship nature, and have a great fear of evil spirits.

The Nosu of this story are under Chinese domination and are rapidly imbibing Chinese culture and civilisation.

For several generations the Flowery Miao, harried and dispossessed of their land, have been the shuttle-cock of both the Chinese and Nosu, who had come to regard them as "the offscouring of

174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 579 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being distilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

836 The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House" where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [341]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356] water in which the pig and entrails have been washed, are buried in this hole. Everything unclean is deposited here, nothing is thrown outside. The pig is then cut into pieces and heart, liver, stomach, everything placed into a large iron pan and boiled. At the same time millet or buckwheat is steamed, to be eaten with the boiled pig; meanwhile a strict silence is observed. When millet and pig are ready for eating, the family squat on the floor, and partake of a sacramental feast. The meat is taken with the fingers from a large wooden basin, and the millet with wooden ladles from a basket; and this is for them a kind of holy communion. The sons of the household and the immolator's wife share the meal, but not the daughters, since they some day will marry into another clan. All bones and gristle are burnt. At the end of the meal each participant stands over the fire, where with both hands he wipes his mouth, throwing the breath, as it were, into the flames, and then holding the hands over the fire, he rubs them together. In this manner, hands, mouth and breath are all cleansed. With the exception of the father and the eldest son, the inmates of the house now retire to sleep. Father and son wait until an hour or two before sunrise, when, standing near the door, the father eats a small piece of the cooked meat and in the hearing of his son quietly repeats a formula handed down from generation to generation: "We worship thee, oh door. Keep away sickness, keep away disease, keep away slander, keep away all that is injurious." With the dawn

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the 755
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practices white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

754 aboriginal *materia medica*, an individual becomes incapacitated. The sickness weighs upon his mind, until after a time he becomes convinced that some one "overlooking" him has released invisible arrows which have entered into his system and caused the illness.

Once twenty rough, wild-looking Miao came to a missionary's home, begging him to help them adjudge a man accused of having the "evil eye". The offender, who was closely guarded, had a rather pleasant face, and certainly there did not appear to be anything abnormal about him. The missionary felt sorry, and could not understand why his accusers should be so bitter. He vehemently protested his innocence, and after the most minute enquiries, the missionary was unable to discover any one who could produce the slightest evidence of the man having performed any acts of conjuration, or of having had any dealings whatsoever with the "black art". Yet every man from his village was seething with rage; some of their children and women had been taken violently sick, and in each instance the sick ones had declared that at the outset of the trouble they had seen the face of the accused. Such was the panic of these men that had they not feared the local head man (who was a friend of the supposed wizard) they would have taken the law into their own hands and beaten the offender to death. It was said that he induced sickness by ejaculating evil upon any object he wished to injure; he could cast a spell or produce a malignant effect upon victims of his displeasure either by letting his eye rest upon them or by merely 754 wishing them evil. Their only proof of this was that their children or wives had been taken ill after this supposed wizard had passed by their doors, or had been seen by them in the fields or on the hills. No words of the missionary could persuade those men that possibly they were mistaken.

This power of spitefully "overlooking" people 751 belongs to women as well as to men. In one village 758 typhoid broke out and took off a large number of victims. This is the blackest of all demons; it works havoc amongst the Miao, who fear it intensely. Hamlets and villages are frequently decimated by it. In one epidemic, out of a family of nine, seven had died of it. The ninth, a young wife, was so afraid that she ran away, no one knowing whither she had gone. An eighth member of the family had got over the typhoid and was being tended by this wife, but after she had absconded no one would enter the house. Thus, being bereft of all nursing and food, the patient eventually died from sheer starvation. In another instance the father, mother and two children all died; no one would enter the house to bury the bodies, so by degrees the village dogs devoured them. Perhaps the saddest case was that of a mother dying and leaving a young babe. As every one was afraid of infection the living babe was buried with the deceased mother. In this village, after several people had died of this dread disease, it began to be whispered that the sickness had been caused by an old widow woman, who

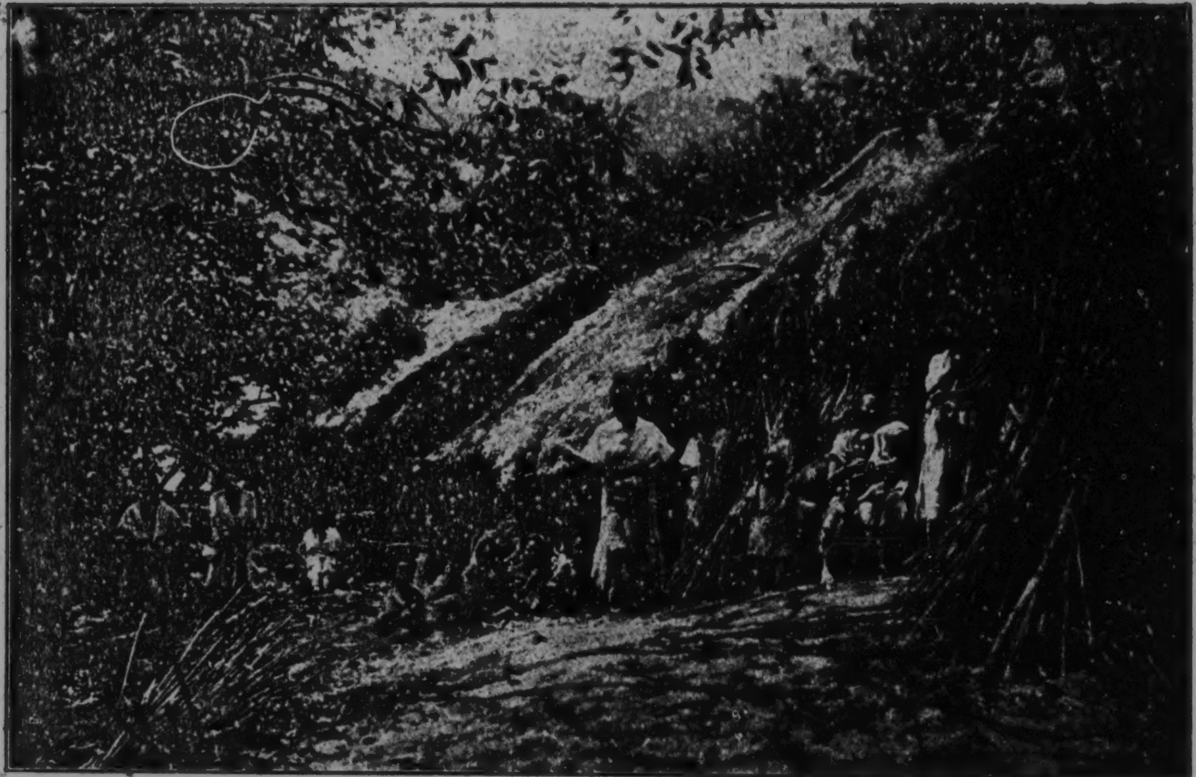
751 758 thereupon became suspect of being a witch. Finally feelings ran so high that some of the men, armed with staves, entered the woman's house and literally beat her to death.

754 Men who practise the "black art" sometimes come to a bad end. One wizard, who had been accused several times of "overlooking" people, was rather proud that it should be thought he possessed this power. One day the brother of a man of some influence was taken ill, and within a short while he died, killed, it was believed, by a secret arrow released by this wizard. The elder brother was so infuriated that on the day of the burial he had the wizard brought to the village, beaten with bludgeons until he lost consciousness, carried to a newly dug grave and unceremoniously flung into it. On top of the unconscious but living wizard was lowered the coffin containing his supposed unfortunate victim, and the grave was filled up.

566 Another aspect of Miao life which needs our understanding and sympathy, is the dominance of the landlords, called for the most part "*t'u-muh*". The words "*t'u-muh*" are the Chinese for "earth's eyes" and are probably used to designate the enfeoffed eldest sons of aforetime Nosu chiefs. While some Miao are the tenants of small landowners, either Chinese or Nosu, a majority till the land of *t'u-muh*, who, as a class, are crafty, corrupt, capricious and at times inhumanly cruel. Before the Chinese Republic was founded in 1911, these *t'u-muh* had immense power; and though

occasionally one meets a *t'u-muh* who is humane, the records of the others would not bear investigation. Oppressing the Miao, these *t'u-muh* exacted from them such heavy rents that it was impossible for them to make any progress. In one case it was calculated that each Miao tenant gave one hundred days' labour per year. A Miao could never get any redress, since in Manchu days, even if a Miao had dared to sue for justice, the law was always on the side of the rich, as is suggested by the Chinese proverb: "The doors of the law courts are always open; but if you only have right on your side, and not money, don't enter them."

If a Miao were lucky enough to breed a good foal, the *t'u-muh* would demand it; were he sufficiently thrifty to save a little *sycee*, the *t'u-muh* would find ways and means of getting hold of it; were his cattle to increase, the *t'u-muh* would trump up an excuse for inordinate extortion. The stories told of these overlords bear witness to the degrading effects that absolute authority and tyranny may have on a man. There were two brothers, both *t'u-muh*, and the younger, who was unmarried, was suspected by his elder brother of becoming too fond of his wife. On account of this, the elder brother arranged with a Szechuan boxer to murder his brother, for which the award was to be two hundred dollars. In course of time the brother was murdered and the boxer came for his promised recompense, but instead of being paid, he was trussed up like a pig and offered as a human sacrifice at the grave of the murdered younger brother to appease,



A STREET IN STONE-GATEWAY

[Photo by Rev. H. Parsons

[Facing p. 28]

080

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

566 it was said, the departed spirit of the victim of this atrocity.

Such, then, are some of the conditions under which the Miao lived. Round their necks were the millstones of ignorance ~~and oppression~~, and humanly speaking, they could never climb higher. They were chained in the Slough of Despond.

131
489
[423] And now let us travel to Miao-land, where these men and women dwell, a people who are amongst the most needy in the world. "Miao-land" is not a stretch of country where you will find Flowery Miao exclusively, because the Miao do not possess land. Miao-land is a section of China inhabited by a preponderance of Chinese, patches of Nosu and, in less accessible regions, large communities of Miao.

Embarking on either a French or a British steamer in that most beautiful harbour of Hongkong, we will slip down the China coast and after two, three or four days glide gently up the delta of the Red River into Haiphong. Here we will board a train which, after chugging for three days (at times the gradient is so steep that one feels that by leaning forward one could help the puffing engine), the train will deposit you in Yunnanfu, the capital of the province of Yunnan. The Tonkin-Yunnan railway, with its ascending slopes, its dauntless bridges, its viaducts and tortuous tunnels, is one of the engineering feats of the world of which the French nation may justly be proud. Kunming (Yunnanfu) is the terminus, but our

131 destination still lies from ten to twelve days farther
north. The first day's journey may be made by
489 recently introduced motor buses, but the last nine
days must be travelled either in a sedan chair or
on the back of a Yunnan pony. Yunnan ponies
are wonderful beasts, being as sure-footed as goats.
If you are particularly energetic you might walk.
It is a charming, picturesque journey running over
wild wooded hills, down beautiful valleys, past
smiling landscapes. At one point the mountains
rise to more than ten thousand feet above sea-
level, and along this route you see China as she
has been for centuries—there have been but few
600 changes. Each day you travel twenty-five or
thirty miles and then rest at some little wayside
inn, where you meet with a great deal of kindness.
Naturally, these inns are neither so comfortable
nor so sanitary as modern European hotels, and in
summer they are always, in one sense, overcrowded.
One hears a good deal these days of China's teeming
population; you come into close personal contact
with it in those inns and a tin of Keating's Insect
Powder comes as a boon and a blessing to men.
The historian Gibbon was amused by the Emperor
Julian's boast that "his beard was populous". In
some of these remote Chinese inns within an hour
of retiring for the night the whole body can be
populous. On such a journey one meets with
amusing experiences. One night in such an inn a
Chinese servant was arranging the missionary's
blankets on one of the Chinese roughly made
wooden bedsteads which was provided. A coolie

standing in the doorway was watching intently, and the missionary heard the following conversation. "What are you doing?" asked the coolie. "I am making the teacher's bed," was the reply, "what do you think I'm doing?" "Is the teacher going to sleep in those blankets?" came the further query. "Yes, where do you think he is going to sleep?" asked the boy. "Aiya," said the coolie, "I always thought those foreign devils were like horses and slept standing up"! ! !

So, after nine days of "cloud and sunshine", Chinese inn and wild roses, where every prospect pleases, having passed through the little walled city of Tungchwan, which like Yunnanfu, was familiar enough to Samuel Pollard, you reach Chaotung, original home of Methodism in the province.

We must hasten on. There is another day's march to go, over still wilder country, beset by wilder men, over a bandit-ridden road where, once and again, the missionary has had to run for his life, "O'er moor and torrent" at last you arrive at what was once only a little Miao village called Hmao-li-nah. Its Chinese name is Shih-Men-Kan, and in English it is known as "Stone-Gateway", scene and centre of one of the greatest triumphs of the Gospel that any Chinese missionary has ever witnessed.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

797

CHAPTER III

OUT OF THE MIRE

The Story of Stone-Gateway

ONE day in 1903 a band of hunters met Mr. James R. Adam, a China Inland Missionary working in Anshun in the West of Kweichow. From their dress Mr. Adam knew that they belonged to one of the Miao tribes and when told they had been hunting the wild boar and were half famished and weary, he shared his meal with them. As they talked together Mr. Adam told them in plain, easy language, the story of Jesus Christ and how He had come to seek and to save that which was lost. "And did He come to seek us?" asked the Miao. "Yes," was the quiet answer, "Jesus came to seek you." That some one should love and care for the Miao was a new idea to these men, and though it took them a long time to comprehend it, when they did slightly understand, they went back to their hamlets with the extraordinary news that they had met a foreigner who, speaking to them with kindness and sympathy, had told them that some one called Jesus loved the Miao. Soon after this, from

797 villages nine days' journey away, numbers of Miao tramped to Anshun to make quite sure that no mistake had been made.

Picture these early scouts as they journey. Each carries a felt cape which in the daytime serves as an overcoat and at night as a blanket, and every one has a bag of oatmeal, a basin and chopsticks or a wooden spoon; the oatmeal mixed with water serves as breakfast, lunch and evening meal. Thus they travelled to learn more about the Saviour who had come to seek them. After some months the seekers became too numerous for Mr. Adam to cope with; so, learning that Chaotung was nearer to them than Anshun, he sent them to this city with a letter to his friend Samuel Pollard, who, with Frank Dymond, was Methodism's representative in that faraway corner of China. On July 12th, 1904, the first four Miao entered the compound of the Chaotung Methodist Mission, and stayed five days. In his own incomparable way Pollard told them as simply as he could the Gospel story, the Chinese language being the medium of teaching. Pollard's charm of manner, grace of speech and depth of understanding, won the hearts of those four scouts who, thrilled beyond expression, returned to their homes with the tidings that they had found a Saviour. The effect was electrical; hearts were swept with the thrill of a new hope and the glad tidings spread throughout scores of villages among the mountain fastnesses of Kweichow and Yunnan. Afterwards there was a steady procession of Miao pilgrims who came seeking the White

Teacher—tens, scores, then hundreds came until the citizens of Chaotung became filled with alarm. They began to wonder whether the Miao were going to rebel. Such a strange awakening of a tribe caused weird rumours to be circulated throughout the country districts, and with a view to impeding the movement it was reported that Pollard gave the Miao poison to pollute springs and streams, and to kill their landlords and Chinese rulers. Magical gifts were attributed to him; it was said he could see three feet into the earth and that when he dropped water into the mouths of the illiterate Miao they immediately believed the foreign doctrine. But the pilgrimage was not arrested and coming from the four quarters of the district, they swarmed everywhere, until the strain on Pollard became immense.

Beginning at five o'clock in the morning, they would study their Chinese catechisms through the whole day, making it well-nigh impossible for the missionary to get any rest. Pollard had to start at the very beginning; he had to teach them both to read and to understand the doctrines of the Christian religion; he had to teach them to pray, he had to teach them to sing; but he was equal to the need and with an iron-like will took up the task. To him the coming of the Miao was a Divine call, and nothing daunted him. During the early days the language was a great difficulty, since no one knew a word of Miao and the Miao knew little Chinese. Pollard at once set himself the work of learning their language and after a few weeks

797 application he could give short addresses to the tribesmen in their own tongue. As soon as he had acquired a certain ease and fluency in the use of Miao words he went off on a tour of inspection to ascertain the extent of his new work. He visited dozens of villages and though everywhere he learnt that Nosu *t'u-muh* and landlords were ready to employ any means to stop the Miao from becoming Christians, he also discovered that already a change had come into the lives of these hillmen who, to the perplexity of their enemies, evinced a brave obstinacy. A new self-respect had come to them, a sense of moral regeneration; the tribe was on the march, a mass movement was developing and, though beaten, chained, robbed and tortured, no persecution could prevent them from pursuing their quest.

At the outset the Miao had said: "This news is too good to keep ourselves, let us send the message on to the next village"; and forthwith they began to carry out their purpose and met together for reading, prayer and exhortation. It happened, therefore, that sometimes Pollard would arrive at a village which he had never visited, and find a number of enquirers meeting week by week at each other's houses. In March, 1905, a powerful *t'u-muh*, Mr. An, made over to the Church about ten acres of land at the out-of-the-world hamlet called Stone-Gateway which we reached at the close of the last chapter. About twenty-two miles east of Chaotung, Stone-Gateway is just within the Province of Kweichow. As in those days, Stone-

797

Gateway consisted only of the broad breast of a barren hill near a few Miao cottages, Mr. An thought he had given a useless piece of land. But it proved to be an admirable centre; it was in the midst of numerous Miao villages and nearby, just below the surface, was enough coal to last for tens of years. Building operations commenced at once, and by May a chapel was opened in which there were seats for about two hundred and fifty and standing room for five hundred persons.

Some people would have thought little of this poor, roughly built chapel with its mud walls and thatched roof, but to the Miao, who out of their poverty had subscribed to erect this first Christian temple in Miao country, it was a Cathedral. Such was the beginning of the work at Stone-Gateway. As the years have passed by, this out-of-the-world hamlet has become the Mecca of the Miao and is celebrated amongst tribesmen of three provinces, Kweichow, Yunnan and Szechuan. The chapel became the centre of a new life, and later schools were built and a number of small whitewashed buildings erected, where the worshippers and preachers could be lodged. Pollard's famous five-pound house was put up and thereafter Pollard became the Moses of the Miao; he was their teacher, their protector, their leader, their lawgiver. With infinite patience and consummate skill he gave the people a new orientation. By kindling new interests and higher loves he helped them to get rid of their evil customs. He purified their marriage practices and led them in a great fight against drunkenness and immorality. The Miao had been accustomed to holding a great annual gathering on the hillside on the fifth day of the fifth moon, when thousands of people would meet together and, to the playing of pipes and the singing of love songs, they would let loose their passions. This festal day Pollard captured for Jesus Christ and in place of the riotous merrymaking, there was a joyous singing of Christian hymns taught to the Miao on the tonic sol-fa system, the preaching of the Word, and in later years an exhibition of skill and drill given by schoolchildren. It is not the purpose of this book to give the details of those early days. These can all be read in the Rev. W. A. Grist's well-documented book on *Samuel Pollard;* from Mr. E. H. Hayes's book on *Sam Pollard of Yunnan;* and in Sam Pollard's own *The Story of the Miao.* It is necessary, however, that readers should realise the extent of Pollard's parish, and there is no more adequate description of this than Pollard's own account: "If a day's journey were supposed to be about twenty or twenty-five miles over rough mountainous roads, then in the North East the Mission stretches five days, to the East three days, to the South East four and a half days, in the North West three and a half days, Westward two and a half days and in the South West three and a half days." During the next few years in carefully selected centres throughout the district, chapels were built and schools opened. The chief of these were Rice Ear Valley, Long Sea, Great Level, Halfway House and Heavenborn

Bridge of which we shall catch glimpses on future pages. And still the movement spread until our Church asked the China Inland Mission to take over in the South-West. This led to the founding of a new centre at Sa-pu-shan.

In 1907 this gallant troubadour had a narrow escape. Betrayed by an unbelieving Miao he was set upon in the night and with iron weapons and clubs almost beaten to death; but in the goodness of God, when Pollard was expecting that every blow would be his last, an unknown Chinese wearing a sheepskin jacket stooped down and putting his arms around him, ordered the beating to cease. The Miao were distressed beyond measure, but that beating gave Pollard a place in their hearts and affections that nothing else could have done. During his next furlough, by thrilling and passionate appeals Pollard captured the interest and love of thousands of young people. I was one of these, and as I pen these lines I can see again the man who bewitched me and started me on an adventure which, with the passing of years, has become ever more thrilling and alluring. The first time I saw and heard Pollard was in Sheffield, and I was swept off my feet. In 1910 I joined him at Stone-Gateway, where I was able to see and study him off the stage, as it were. It is one thing to see a brilliant man on the platform and a very different thing to live with him. I lived with Pollard for nearly four years and my admiration for him increased. His whole-heartedness, his white-hot enthusiasm, his arresting, magnetic personality, his passionate

797 devotion to Christ fascinated me. I have listened to him preach the Gospel in brilliant Chinese and then go into our Stone-Gateway Chapel and in Miao sway an audience of a thousand tribesmen. He would discuss plans and schemes with Miao deacons, comfort and encourage mothers and then romp like a boy with Miao children who, when he said good-bye, would sit by the wayside and cry as though their little hearts would break. I longed to become like him. "Flowers of God's heart" he used to call the kiddies, and woe betide any one who caused one of these to stumble.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the White Teacher was confronted was that the Miao possessed no written characters. Pollard solved the problem by providing phonetic signs to represent Miao sounds and by adapting the system employed in shorthand of vocalising consonants. This system of writing came to be known as "The Pollard Script", and since it was quickly and easily learned by the Miao, they became proud of having their language in a written form which they could call their own. Pollard used the script for the translation of passages of scripture, hymns and simple Christian doctrines, and afterwards primers were prepared. Later the Gospel of St. Mark and other Gospels were translated and put into circulation and no one will ever be able to calculate the enormous influence which the light-giving Word has exerted on
797 the Miao. Before the Pollard script, books and a
212 library were unknown. The great majority of
539 these tribesmen had never handled even a sheet of

writing paper or a pen. They had heard that once 213
upon a time there were books; a tribal legend 539
described how long, long ago the Miao lived on the 797
north side of the Yangtze River, but the conquering Chinese came and drove them from their land and homes. Coming to the river and possessing no boats they debated what should be done with the books and in the end they strapped them to their shoulders and swam across, but the water ran so swiftly and the river was so wide, that the books were washed away and fishes swallowed them. This was the story. When the British and Foreign Bible Society sent the first Gospels and these were distributed the legend grew—the-once-upon-a-time lost books had been found, found in the white man's country, and they told the incomparable story that Jesus loved the Miao. Only the imagination can conceive what this meant to those hillmen; some of whom travelled for days to view
the books. The establishment of schools brought 797
light and understanding to the minds of both boys and girls; fathers would undertake all the work in their fields so that a son might be free to study; and mothers carrying supplies to their boys at school would trudge weary miles over hills and mountains.

On September 15th, 1915, Samuel Pollard, the 000
greatest missionary who ever worked in South-West China, passed into eternal rest. For eleven years he had lived day and night for his Miao who, when he died, said to his lifelong chum, Frank Dymond: "He is ours, let us bury him; we will

arrange for coffin, bearers, grave and tombstone; for we loved him more than our fathers, and he was ever kind to us."

They did this and laid him to rest on a mount overlooking the hills and dales over and through which he had travelled so often, and for a few successive nights men stayed upon the hillside watching near the grave. Throughout Miao-land, eyes were moist, voices were hushed and there was a sob in men's throats, but hearts were shining with a new light, the light of the love of Jesus Christ. Since those days harassed men and wearied women have often gone to the little grave and prayed to the spirit of the man whose life was burnt out in their service; and many have expressed the wish to be buried alongside Pollard. "We wouldn't feel lonely then," they said. And can we wonder at these things? He had found them in the Slough of Despond, wallowing and sinking in the mire, and like Bunyan's "Help" he had given them his hand, drawn them out, set them upon sound ground and bid them go on their way. When Pollard left us there was a Christian community of more than ten thousand and to this day the most precious memory hundreds of these tribesmen possess is that of their little, fragile teacher riding over their hills, coming to their villages and bringing light, love and healing to their dark, burdened lives. The wilderness had blossomed; crooked places had been made straight.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER IV

THE EBB AND THE FLOW

Pictures of Miao Churches

THE story of the early years of Christianity amongst the Miao is the story of a tide, which, flowing high and strong, carried thousands of people forward to spiritual freedom. The Good News spread over the hills like a sea moving across yellow sands, ever gaining ground in its onward course. Metaphorically speaking, the skies were cloudless, a gentle breeze blew from the south, the sun was warm and minds were at peace with the world. But with the passing of the White Teacher dark clouds gathered, cold angry winds blew, a chill struck upon brave hearts, hamlets and villages were swept with confused alarm and the Sea of Faith retreated. The ebb had commenced some three or four years before this apparent misfortune, though only those behind the scenes had detected it. Now it became noticeable, but knowing what lay ahead the missionaries were strengthened by the love and loyalty of a rare band of noble preachers and by the affection of little children. Early in

080 the morning of the day following Pollard's death, his saddened colleague watched his door slowly pushed open. This was followed by the entrance of three dirty little kiddies who stole gently over to his bedside and stroking his hands and face whispered: "Teacher, you won't leave us, will you?" "You will be our father and mother now, won't you?" "No, I won't leave you," he said, and from that day the Flowery Miao of South-West China have been written on his heart. It is that colleague who writes these words.

Looking back over the years that have passed we understand now that possibly retrogression is an essential element of progress. We go forward and then we go back that we may go forward again; and history seems to support this thesis. Happily the foundation had been well and truly laid and though "the rain descended and the winds blew, the house fell not, for it was founded upon a rock".

As was to be expected, the Miao came to see that the Gospel was not a panacea for all their troubles. Every flower was not a rose, every goose was not a swan. Though they believed the Truth, the Miao had still to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, and sometimes the crops failed and famine stalked the land. Hunger is a terrible thing and it is heart-breaking to watch people growing thinner and thinner when the only thing they can do is to tighten the waistbelt and hunt for bracken and other roots out of which, together with a very little grain, a kind of gruel can be made, which for a time staves off exhaustion and keeps body and soul together. The worst famine we ever had to face was in 1918 and it was weathered by the brave and unselfish devotion of the Rev. H. and Mrs. Parsons, to whose work amongst the Miao, were this book larger, we could easily devote a chapter. Suffice it to say that in the annals of our Church their names should be recorded in letters of gold. It was during this famine[1] that there was committed the only murder of which we ever knew a Miao to be guilty, and in this the pangs of hunger were the cause. 000C 762 681

A young man out seeking food met an elderly man carrying a small bag of grain. They were near one of the many bottomless pits which are found upon these hills. No one was near and it was the work of a moment to snatch the bag, but in the scuffle the old man, slipping into the pit, was killed. When it became known, the village elders offered the youth a knife or a length of rope and told him they didn't wish to see him again. He chose the rope and, like Judas, "went away and hanged himself". There is a peculiarity amongst the Miao which has always been distressing to their friends. It is their tendency readily to commit suicide, it is said, a not uncommon feature amongst aboriginals. Such instances as the following are by no means exceptional: A boy and a girl who were very much attached to each other and forbidden by their parents to marry, hanged themselves with a single piece of rope. A little schoolgirl at Stone-Gateway who had been reproved by her teacher slipped 762

[1] [OF 1918--ANALYST]

762, quietly out of the room and, going down the hill, took her own life. A woman, who lived not far from us, one evening committed suicide because she had burnt the food she was cooking for her children.

After Pollard's death there was a recrudescence of drunkenness, immorality and superstition; but we must not be surprised at this. In England, after centuries of Christianity we are still faced with an appalling drink problem, an urgent sex question, and a spiritualist society. This is closely allied to necromancy. "Wine is a mocker" and "strong drink a brawler", whether in England or in China, and all over the world the teaching of Proverbs is terrifyingly true: "On account of a whorish woman a man is brought to a piece of bread." The dense darkness was not, and could not be dispersed in eleven years, but there is no need to paint the shadows too black; the high lights are too fascinating. Throughout the province there was civil war and brigandage and political unrest, whilst amongst our Miao were bad cases of backsliding. Throughout scores of villages, however, the habit of prayer and pure living and the study of God's loved word was being acquired. The year 1917 was a memorable date, as it was during this year that the British and Foreign Bible Society printed and published in the Flowery Miao language, the whole of the New Testament. The work of translation had been done by Sam Pollard and the Rev. A. G. Nicholls of the China Inland Mission, but with James Yang, Pollard's gifted amanuensis, his colleague and successor had the joy of reading and correcting the proofs as they came from the printing house in Yokohama, where type for the script was specially made, and a first edition of five thousand copies issued. This was followed by a second edition in 1919 and a third in 1929, a total of ten thousand copies of the Book being put into circulation.[1] The Rev. G. W. Sheppard of the British and Foreign Bible Society has stated that he thought few, if any, books of the first publications in the first written letters in any human language had attained such a record sale.

But we are anticipating our story; we must go back to the earlier years and witness the joy and hope that was kindled by the lamp of God's Word in the lives of the Miao. Each village was visited in turn by colporteur-readers, the people called together as opportunity permitted, and to old and young the old, old story was spelled out word by word. The Good News sank into hundreds of hungry hearts and there came an ever-growing appreciation of the Holy Book. On Sundays it was always enchanting to watch groups of Miao sitting on the ground making out, word by word, the sayings and doings of Jesus. Let us peep at them in some hillside chapel. A hush is on the hills, rocks and trees are silvered by the moon, the little building is lit with pine-wood torches and there is a strange gathering of faces; for here are to be seen from one to two hundred people of both sexes and all ages, "from childhood to the old and grey-headed", listening to the Word. These people have met in the evening, not for amusement, drunkenness or gaming, but to hear the sacred volume read aloud and explained to them. Imagine yourself visiting a poor sick man who had not walked for some three years. Near to a small wood fire he lay on goatskins spread on the cold ground. His emaciated body was covered with dirty homespun, but his face shone with an unspeakable joy. As you sat on your low stool watching him, you wondered why the man, amidst such squalor, could be so contented. "What makes you so happy?" you asked. From under the block of wood which served as his pillow he extracted a much-worn copy of John's Gospel. "This, this," he answered, grasping his precious book, "this tells me about Jesus and His love for me." So the missionaries learned that amongst the Miao the Gospel was everywhere a golden key to the hearts and homes of men. And in what unknown ways the work bore fruit can only be conjectured.

---

[1] As with all first translations of the Scriptures, in the course of years and after experience and use, a revision of the text became desirable. This was undertaken by the Rev. W. H. Hudspeth and the Rev. A. G. Nicholls, both of them being assisted by educated Miao teachers, and the Revised Hwa Miao Testament was published in February of 1936. The first edition of seven thousand copies was sold out immediately and a second edition is now being put into circulation.

Now let us go to one of the out-stations; ambling along on our ponies will be singularly pleasant. Forgetful that there are such luxuries as cars, buses, trams and trains, you will become interested in the call of the birds, the patches of wild flowers, and, if it is spring, of fruit blossom, and the promise of growing crops upon which the very lives of the people depend. Though not a common occurrence, you might catch sight of a stray wolf. There are times when wolves become disconcertingly fierce, preferring children to sheep and bringing disaster to lonely homes. One of our women, whilst hoeing the maize, had put down her babe in a cape on the ground at a distance of only a few yards. In the twinkling of an eye a huge wolf snatched the child and though immediately a hue and cry was raised, nothing could be done to recover the wee babe. One of our farmers was carrying a little boy when he came face to face with a wolf. Putting down his bundle the farmer, armed with a cudgel, gave chase. The wolf ran off but, after a while, returning by a circuitous route, almost succeeded in carrying away the boy before the farmer could reach the spot. The wolf had undoubtedly marked the spot where the bundle had been set down.

If in our journey we have had to cross a river we will have realised how dangerous and exciting swollen torrents can become. Frequently people are carried away by a river in spate and not seldom you may have to lodge in a wayside inn until the water has subsided. Usually, however, we risk it, our unpaid carriers crossing and recrossing until all the baggage is safely over and then last of all we cross on sturdy ponies with a man on each side holding the saddle girth.

Perhaps a few miles from our destination we will be met by men carrying cross-bows and arrows. On enquiry we will learn that there has been a highway robbery and the Miao, taking no risks, are determined that their teachers shall come to no harm. Approaching the chapel we will be welcomed by a batch of schoolboys. They will be bearing their school banners and two of the scholars will be lustily blowing bugles. Some tens of members will give us such a generous greeting that our hearts will be warmed and we will be glad to be visiting them.

Arriving at the chapel (or school; in many centres a single building serves the two purposes) we will be invited to take our seats for the communal meal, which is invariably a feature of the teacher's visit. A sheep, pig or goat will have been slaughtered and boiled; maize will have been steamed and though, from our point of view, the food is rough and unpalatable, we realise that to our hosts it is a royal feast, and we will partake of it as though it were thoroughly enjoyable. Such feasts always seem like the counterpart of the chapel teas prepared to welcome the deputation in England. A few of the elders will sit at our table, whilst a dozen or more people will stand around to watch how we manipulate chopsticks.

As soon as the repast is over we bring out one of the footballs sent by English friends and as usual this will give endless delight to thirty or forty men and boys, who will kick and chase it until well-nigh exhausted. Amongst the Miao nothing creates so much fun and laughter as a football.

In the evening there will be a prayer meeting, and when this is finished you will be glad to get to bed. If perchance we are at some centre where next door to the chapel there is a private room, we will have an opportunity of undressing and ridding ourselves of the parasites we have collected. Amongst the Miao lice and fleas are without number, and possibly this is the explanation of the frequent typhoid epidemics.

[5/5]

The next morning being Sunday there will be an early service at seven, and this will be attended by perhaps a hundred people, but the real business of the day will commence after breakfast, with the arrival of friends from outlying villages.

A few have walked twenty miles and as they plan to spend the night, each will be equipped with a felt cape and a bag of oatmeal, this being all the baggage they need. If we go for a short stroll we may be fortunate enough to watch, unseen, a company of girls putting on their pretty festive skirts over soiled ones, and standing beside a pool of water they will use it as a mirror. Touching up their hair they will titivate themselves as is the fashion with English girls. They haven't taken to using rouge and lipstick yet, but woman is woman all the world over.

Mothers with new babies will come to have them named, and this is not so easy as it might appear;

as, at times, the babies are numerous and sufficient names do not come readily to the mind. A name may be suggested for a child and then it cannot be used as his cousin bears it. A second may be suggested, only to find that this name is his uncle's and it may be that a third and a fourth will be suggested before the parents are satisfied. Some missionaries use biblical names only and, during the years, these names have been almost exhausted. At times the mother will forget the name that has been given to her child and she will return to have her memory refreshed! As all babies look much alike to a stranger, the missionary may have forgotten, but the difficulty is solved by giving it a new name, and lest the mother should again forget it her friends come and learn it too. Sometimes a girl who has grown up doesn't like her name and will come to have it changed.

The midday service may last for anything from two to three hours. Seeing a visitor present the members will wish to have a reception meeting. An old man will speak for the deacons, a young man for the youths, a woman or girl to represent the large number of women and girls who are always present. Listening to these uneducated people giving their testimony to what the Gospel has done for them will be intensely interesting, and when one has been downhearted and feared the tide was ebbing, the reminder of the change that Jesus has brought has acted like a tonic. Some of the speeches are very neat. For instance, a girl commences by stating that there is an old Miao proverb which says "When the magpie calls guests are coming"; the Miao for this is rhythmic and plays a part in their mythology. "*Ke-nchab nchab, nchab, nchab, ia ma k'a da.*" "Hearing the magpie call *nchab, nchab, nchab,*" she continues "I wondered what guest could be coming to our village, when lo and behold, our father and mother came." It was well done.

There may be a baptismal service, and in what we may call our third service we will celebrate the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Though the elements will be simply buckwheat cake and tea you will realise intensely that these are sufficient to bring to remembrance the eternal verities of the broken body and the shed blood. The mud-built walls are often as sacred as a beautiful cathedral. When most of the people have withdrawn a few will stay behind to ask for special prayer. They will be people who are unwell, or in deep sorrow, or troubled with evil spirits. Once a woman came to ask about her baby who had died a few days before. The previous day this woman's living son had been lost in the mists on the hills and he had been out all night. "I wonder, teacher," she said, "whether my little one might be lost on the hills on the other side." We were able to comfort her by saying that little ones were precious to Jesus, Who had said: "Suffer little children and forbid them not to come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

After the evening service we may sit around some cottage fire and tell stories. It is but seldom that

000 one meets with legends which might be termed universal, but there is a charm about some of these that bears translation into English. This is the story of Nglieh-giah.

539 The *nglieh-giah* ~~is a small~~ bird, a little bigger than a sparrow. It is very dark blue in colour with a snow-white head and in South-West China it is always seen by the side of streams or rivers, hopping from stone to stone or flitting from rock to rock, ever gazing into the water as though searching for something. Legend says that long, long ago Nglieh-giah, as a youth, fell in love with the daughter of the king of under-the-waters. Her name was Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang. Nglieh-giah's wooing was successful and the day came when he proudly led her as his bride to the poor little hut where he lived. Nglieh-giah was so destitute that he had no cattle, but his wife was more than equal to this. She sent him to her father with instructions that when her father wished to give him a present, as he undoubtedly would do, Nglieh-giah was to decline everything and later to ask for two hairs from his father-in-law's beard. These were to be placed in a covered basket which Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang gave to Nglieh-giah at the same time explaining that though as he returned home the basket would grow heavier and heavier, he was on no account to look within. Away went Nglieh-giah to his father-in-law's home and as had been said he was offered this and that, but declining every proffered gift he asked for two hairs from his host's beard, and these being given to him they were placed in the

basket and the lid put on. Then Nglieh-giah started on his homeward journey. As he went along the basket became heavier and heavier, until Nglieh-giah, unable to restrain his curiosity any longer, peeped inside, when behold there jumped out all kinds of wild beasts—tigers and leopards, wolves and bears, and many other kinds too, and there flew out all kinds of birds—crows, magpies, eagles and kites, red-billed jays and pheasants, larks and thrushes. The lid was shut quickly, but not before these had escaped. When Nglieh-giah reached home and gave the basket to his wife, she scolded him severely for opening it since now, she said, our animals will be few. We will only have chickens, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, cats and dogs. With the passing of time, by the help and wisdom of his wife, Nglieh-giah grew rich, but alas, he grew tired of Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang and his love towards her waxed cold. One day he was invited to a feast given by Pluto, king of the underworld and being a good piper Nglieh-giah became very popular, and after this he was asked frequently to Pluto's realm. Now Pluto had two beautiful daughters who were much admired by Nglieh-giah and one day he asked them to marry him. "But you already have a wife," said these girls, "you must first get rid of her." Angry and disappointed, Nglieh-giah returned home and, quarrelling with his wife, he said he didn't want her any more and that she must go away. His wife begged him not to behave in such an ungallant manner, but Nglieh-giah became so querulous and ungracious that at length Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang said that since he had brought her from the waters he must take her back to the river. Nglieh-giah did this, and as his wife walked into the river she once more begged him not to give her up, but Nglieh-giah had grown hard and cruel and he wouldn't change his mind. Farther and farther she walked into the river, begging that he would not send her away, but Nglieh-giah insisted on her going. Just before Ngu-Za-Nieh-Bang disappeared under the waters she waved a rattan stick which she was carrying and suddenly all her cattle came scampering up and they too disappeared with her under the water. On Nglieh-giah's returning home he discovered that all his cattle had vanished, even his gala clothes had gone. However, taking his reed pipes he went off to Pluto's home but here, too, things had changed. Instead of being petted and welcomed by Pluto's daughters, he was ridiculed and spat upon by them, who told him he was ugly and poor and altogether undesirable. Disappointed and filled with remorse, Nglieh-giah went back to the river, where he wandered up and down the banks looking for his wife. Meeting a frog he was asked what was the matter and bursting into tears Nglieh-giah told his uncle, the frog, all that had happened.

"Oh," said the frog, "I'll help you. I'll swallow the water, only you must not laugh." The frog commenced to swallow, but on seeing its stomach growing bigger and bigger Nglieh-giah laughed outright, whereupon all the water came back.

Presently he met a toad who also enquired what was the matter and who, on the same condition as had been made by the frog, offered to swallow the water. So the toad commenced to swallow and eventually there at the bottom of the river Nglieh-giah saw his pretty wife sitting at her loom weaving snowy white cloth. Hastening down to her he said how very, very sorry he was for all that had happened and begged her to return to him. "No, no," she said, "I cannot come back, but I will give you this length of cloth," and taking a knife she cut from the loom the cloth she was weaving, and this Nglieh-giah wound round his head. To this very day you may still see Nglieh-giah hopping from stone to stone or flitting from rock to rock ever looking for his wife.

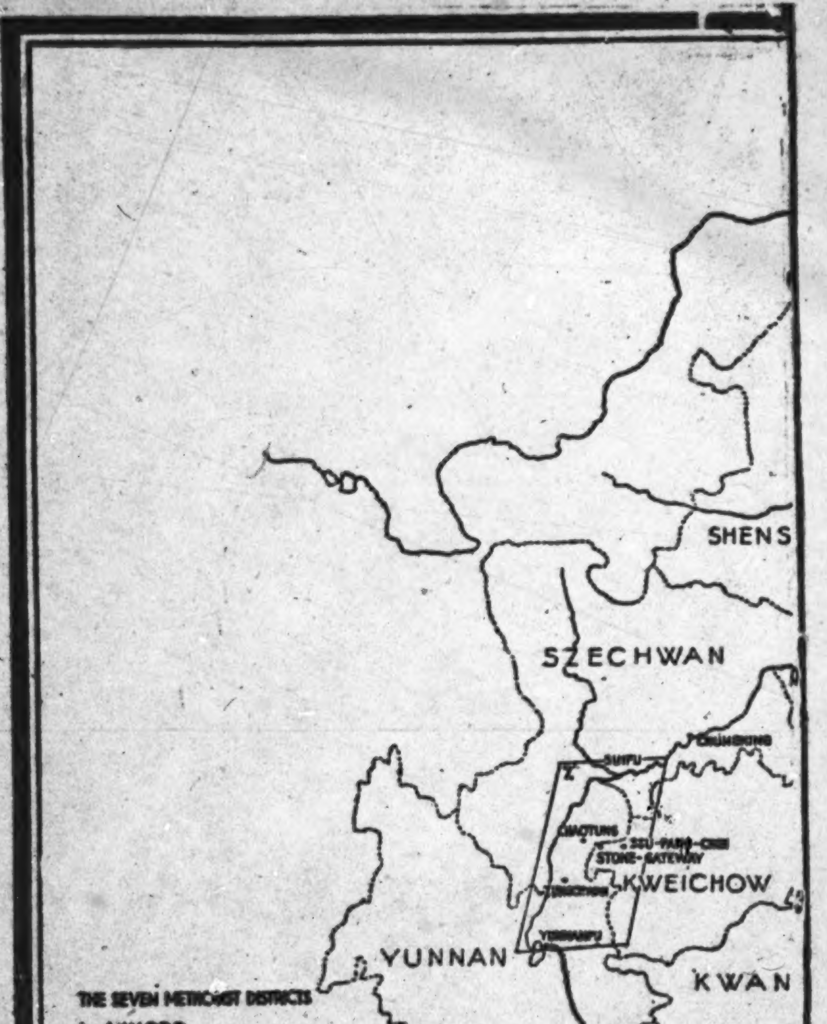
With stories like these they beguile the hours 000
till it is time to sleep.

On the following morning after breakfast, members and scholars will gather to wish us God-speed. They will walk with us some two or three miles, and then, arranging themselves, the group will sing "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah" or one of their many hymns, the whole hillside re-echoing to their singing. After praying with them and saying "good-bye" we will mount our ponies and set off to some other out-station. It always makes one sad to say good-bye; it is like leaving a few sheep in a wilderness. As we move along we will sometimes hear young shepherds singing hymns which have become very dear to them: "Oh happy day", "Rock of Ages", and those simple but heartcomforting words "Jesus loves me"; these hymns having taken the place of what the Miao themselves call devil-songs.

Such things as these could have happened in over thirty centres, in some of which as many as a thousand people might gather together. This chapter began with the ebbing of the tide, but that is not the end of the story. Through the years Pollard's work has wonderfully advanced. When he laid down his life in 1915, the European war was shaking even the mountains of China. Since then have come revolution, disorder, banditry and red armies. But through it all this work of God has marvellously grown. There is no story of Methodism more full of God's helping hand and triumphant grace. Now we turn to individual pictures in this great scene.

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

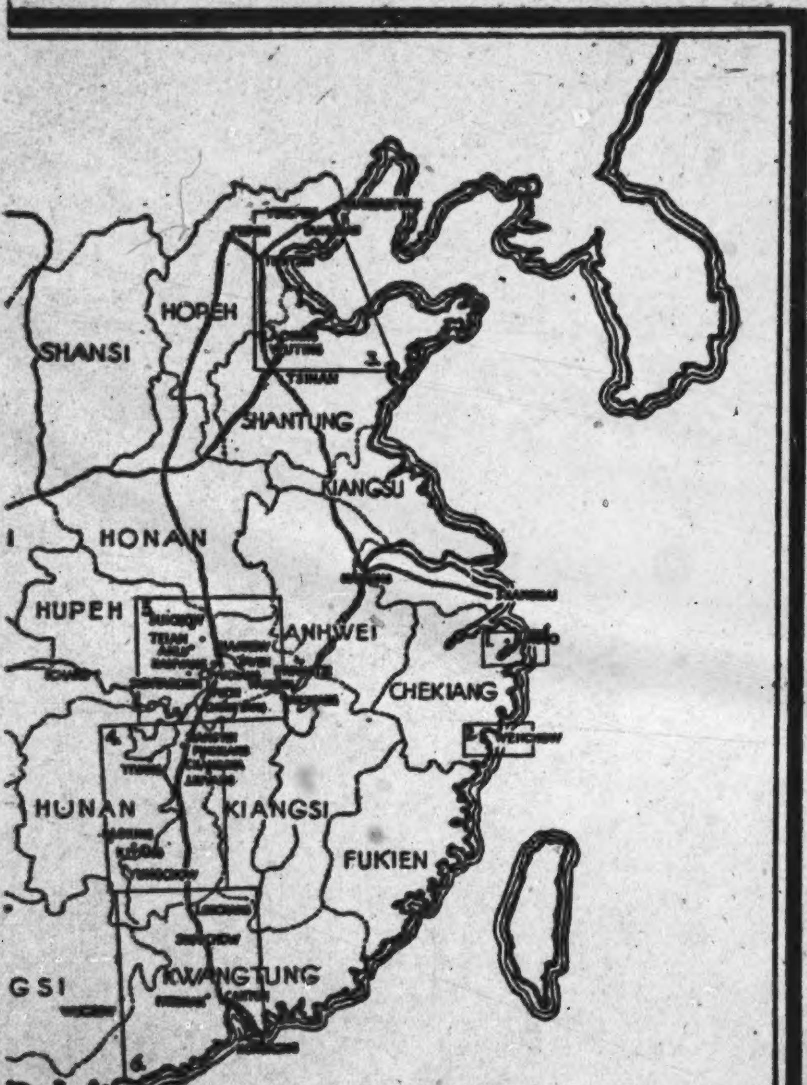
008


SHENS
SZECHWAN
CHUNGKING
SUIFU
7
CHAOTUNG
SSU-FANG-CHING
STONE-GATEWAY
KWEICHOW
TUNGCHWAN
YUNNANFU
YUNNAN
KWAN
HANOI
HAIPHONG
THE SEVEN METHODIST DISTRICTS
1- NINGPO
2- WENCHOW
3- NORTH CHINA
4- HUNAN
5- HUPEH
6- CANTON
7- SOUTH WEST CHINA

[END PAPER MAP A]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

009


SHANSI
HOPEH
TSINAN
SHANTUNG
KIANGSU
HONAN
HUPEH
ANHWEI
SHANGHAI
CHEKIANG
WENCHOW
HUNAN
KIANGSI
FUKIEN
KWANGTUNG
CANTON
GSI
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

[END PAPER MAP B]